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THE same old crowd of semi-liberals are reacting to the new threat of war in the same old way. The people who believed that by joining in the World War we could liberalize our Allies, that by intervening a little in Russia we could prevent others from intervening too much, are now appealing to the country to "help" in Turkey. They are the unrepentant Wilsonians who learned nothing from the tragedy at Versailles, or from the long series of Tchaikowsky-Kolchak-Denikin-Yudenich-Semionov-Wrangel tragedies in Russia. We stand face to face with propaganda for a new war, in which once more financial imperialism wears an ill-fitting Christian mask. The Associated Press correspondent at Constantinople is one of the worst offenders. He editorializes about the "exhaustless patience and moderation of General Harington," who, it seems, has finally agreed to abolish the Allied censorship of Turkish newspapers and to withdraw Allied supervision of the Constantinople-Angora telegraph lines! General Harington ought never to have had the power to censor or supervise. That is the old, discredited method of dictation. If the Allies reach a private decision before they meet the Turks at Lausanne, and then attempt to impose it on the Turks, there will only be more trouble. We do not accept without reserve all of Zia Bey's tribute to the new Turkish democracy printed elsewhere in this issue, but in Turkey we prefer even an imperfect Turkish democracy to British imperialism.

THE majority report of the foreign experts invited by the German Government to advise as to the best methods of stabilizing the mark, wirelessed by the commendable enterprise of the New York *Times*, declares that stabilization is an "essential condition for saving Germany from the threat of a complete collapse." Signed by Messrs. Keynes, Jeremiah Jenks, Cassel, and Brand, it is worthy of the difficulty of the problem, for it is fair-minded and just, while freely pointing out how much Germany herself must do in order to repair the existing situation. Indeed these experts declare that sanitation "must primarily depend upon Germany's own efforts and own resources." But they are also positive that as long as Germany is not relieved for a period from all payments under the Versailles Treaty any attempt to stabilize the mark will be entirely futile. So here we have the situation in a nutshell: Thanks to her large gold reserve Germany could stabilize the mark at 3,000 or 3,500 to the dollar—especially if aided by a foreign loan, which she needs to end the domestic panic and to restore confidence. But a moratorium for, say, five years is absolutely essential. If, then, Germany were told that at the end of five years a formula would be given her for percentage reparation payments based on exports instead of any fixed sums, confidence would inevitably return, and as a result there would be an improvement in every country in Europe, and in America, too. Thus, in a general way, the experts. But Poincaré is threatening again, and says that if the Allies will not force payments France alone will proceed to act. If France is permitted to do this Europe will go steadily downhill; of this the decline of the franc is advance notice. The question now is whether the views of the experts or the demands of Poincaré will prevail.

"WE venture, for instance, to prophesy that Mr. Beveridge will defeat Harry C. New in the primaries for Republican nomination for Senator in Indiana, but that he will not reach the Senate." We do not often prophesy but this was our opinion as expressed in *The Nation* for March 15, 1922, and events have borne us out. So talented a man as Mr. Beveridge ought to be in the Senate—but on the right side. The trouble with him was that he strove to ride two horses and to win both conservatives and progressives. Had he but stood out on the progressive side, without compromise, like LaFollette and Shipstead, and Brookhart in neighboring Iowa, he would probably been triumphantly elected. Half-way progressives do not win the voters any more. That, too, is the moral of the defeat in the State of Washington of Senator Poindexter, who had grown dull, stale, and conservative. Six years ago he won by 67,000 votes and now he is defeated by a man, ex-Congressman Dill, who was driven out of public life because he opposed the war. In Maryland, Senator France fell by the wayside, partly, we fear, because of his sound and sane attitude in the matter of Russia. His loss will be distinctly felt in the Senate, where he could usually be counted upon to vote for justice and right. But on some issues on which no progressive should be misled he voted amazingly wrong, as, for in-

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stance, when he upheld the Fordney tariff, cast the only vote against the Treaty for the Limitation of Armaments resulting from the Washington Conference of a year ago, and voted for the continuance of our dastardly Haitian policy. When a politician risks his political life by some radicalism it is sound common-sense and good business for him to "go the whole hog."

SMALL boys used to convert the slogan "Votes for Women" into what was intended as a taunt: "Vote for Women." The women themselves ought now to adopt the latter as their slogan and, in emulation of their sisters in England, run for office. They ought not only to be candidates but to force their parties to nominate them in promising districts, by threats of bolting if necessary, and by holding over the heads of party leaders the power of the national women's organizations. Some such duress will be needed, we fear, before women finally pry open the doors of the political cupboard. We believe, to be sure, in putting forward the best man for the job, whatever his sex; we do not insist on splitting the public offices into equal shares, half for men and half for women. But we know without stopping to investigate that there are today hundreds of women in public life, and some who have never even sniffed the intoxicating air of politics, who might to the advantage of everybody be substituted for men now nominated and elected by all the parties.

ONLY a few women reached the State Legislatures this year, although Massachusetts distinguished itself by electing Susan Fitzgerald. Amends were made for the sorry joke played on our women in the election two years ago of Miss Alice Robertson, anti-suffragist and sole representative of her sex in the present Congress, by her defeat and by the election of Mrs. Winifred Mason Huck, daughter of the late Congressman William A. Mason. Mrs. Huck is a liberal and a pacifist who publicly advocates an amendment to the Constitution making a declaration of war impossible without a direct vote of the people. The election of Judge Florence E. Allen places on the Supreme Court of Ohio the first woman to reach a State Supreme Court bench. She has been judge in the criminal court in Cleveland; before that she was a lawyer, a seasoned suffrage campaigner, and, still earlier, a musician. Her interests are as wide as her experience. But even the election of women of this character does not make up for the lack of a greater number of successful women candidates.

ALREADY some of our esteemed contemporaries in the daily press have seized upon the swing back to the Democrats to assert that this means that the country is now ready to enter the League of Nations. It means nothing of the sort. The question of concluding a political alliance with Europe never entered into the campaign except in a few places, as in Minnesota, where a woman candidate for Senator on a League of Nations platform was snowed under. In Nebraska the defeat of Senator Hitchcock, the President's special pleader for the League throughout the fight for the treaty, can be interpreted as nothing else than a determination to get rid of the worst of Woodrow Wilson's errand boys. So in Ohio the career of Senator Pomerene, staunch Wilson lieutenant and pro-Leaguer, an "idealist" abroad but an advocate of American imperialism, was ended by voters who remembered among other things that he declared only last May that his vote for war with Germany was the proudest act of his life. In Missouri, Senator Reed, who was honored in the primary campaign with a special letter of denunciation signed Woodrow Wilson, and was bitterly opposed by all the pro-Leaguers and Wilson Democrats, won a triumphant victory. No, Mr. Wilson and his supporters can get no comfort out of these returns.

REFRESHING, indeed, is the promise of Jonathan M. Davis, the Democratic Governor-elect of Kansas, that he will move, the minute he takes office, to repeal the Kansas Industrial Court law, which he declares to be "unfair and unjust." "There is no need or place for it in Kansas," he avers, to which we would add: Or anywhere else, so long as it carries with it the suppression of free speech and free opinion. Mr. Davis also declares for an end of the domination of the State by certain newspapers and their editors—he defeated Mr. W. Y. Morgan of the Hutchinson, Kansas, *News*, who was to have been the fourth editor-Governor of Kansas in the last few years. Kansas plainly had had enough of the Henry J. Allen autocracy. And so has Delaware of the Du Pont hierarchy. That little pocket borough took its courage in its hands and defeated Senator T. Coleman Du Pont by 60 votes for the short term and by approximately 600 for the long term, electing in his stead the bearer of an historic and honored name, Thomas F. Bayard, the fifth of his family to represent the State in the Senate of the United States. In Michigan the newly-elected Democratic Senator, who believes that he was chosen because of his denunciation of Newberryism, has taken the remarkable stand, of at once demanding the resignation of his future colleague, who actually promises to consider the matter! But this does not end the tale of the hard luck of some of our very rich men in politics. In West Virginia a Republican millionaire who was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for Senator has been sentenced to a fine of $1,000 and disfranchisement for three years for expending in a single county $37,500 out of the total of $96,000 he paid out whereas the Corrupt Practices Act allows an expenditure of only $75 in each county.

THE Supreme Court an abiding-place for lame ducks? The thought is appalling. Yet Washington dispatches report that the White House is planning to fill the existing vacancy, and another that is shortly to be created, by the appointment of Senators Kellogg and Pomerene, whose defeat, it appears, entitles them in the eyes of the Administration to something "equally as good." It will be interesting, indeed, to see what the bar will say to this. While there have often been political appointments to the United States Supreme Court it has never fallen so low, heretofore, as to be considered a refuge for politicians who were rejected by their constituencies. We cannot, of course, expect from Mr. Harding the appointment of liberal-minded men like Justices Brandeis and Holmes, but the country has a right to demand that the sole tests for appointment shall be high character and legal ability, and that the mere fact that an office-holder is out of a job shall not entitle him to the highest position within the power of the President.

MARY McSWINEY is in jail in Dublin, imprisoned by the Irish Free State because she fought, and advocated fighting, for an Irish Republic. It is strange to think that barely two years after Terence McSwiney's death for

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Ireland an Irish Government could imprison his sister. We have not agreed with Miss McSwiney's politics but we respect her singleness of purpose, and we cannot understand the psychology of men who keep her in jail, where she repeats her brother's dramatic hunger-striking tactics. Surely Irishmen should know that a McSwiney in jail is even more dangerous to the government in power than a McSwiney free. Respect for her name and expediency alike demand her release.

SEVENTY men killed by an explosion five hundred feet underground in a Pennsylvania coal mine—the newspapers tell the terrible story on the front page, and the public gasps. That is news. The public does not know, and the newspaper editors do not tell them, that this was only a little worse than any day's toll in the coal mines. In September of this year 153 men were killed in American coal mines—and that was thirty less than the ten-year average. Despite the long strike and the months of idle mines accidents killed 1,186 coal miners between January 1 and September 30 of this year. That is not news. We do not blame the editors for not printing these figures on the front page; they lack the heroic quality of the struggle to rescue the imprisoned miners. But the public should not forget them when the miners strike for better working conditions. Not even in the union mines have the miners yet won the right to share in supervising enforcement of the safety laws.

THE San Diego, California, *Union* has challenged *The Nation* to express itself on the sensational testimony of a certain W. E. Townsend, a witness at the trial of ten members of the I.W.W. in the Superior Court of Sacramento, to the effect that he and hundreds of other I.W.W.'s were employed in the Chicago packing-houses during the war with instructions from "Big Bill" Haywood to poison the meat sent to American soldiers, and also that to his knowledge arson and sabotage were practiced by the I.W.W. in wheat fields and lumber camps of the West. The *Union* was confident that the *New Republic* and *The Nation* would suppress this startling testimony, which was sent broadcast by the Associated Press over the country. Well, the answer to this testimony was given by the jury trying the ten I.W.W.'s, for it promptly disagreed, the bulk of the jurors believing that Townsend had shown himself to be wholly untrustworthy. It appeared that he had deserted thirteen times from the United States military service, but had never been prosecuted for these desertions, although they were well known to army and navy officials and to the Department of Justice. In other words, Townsend was just a common or garden variety of government stool-pigeon. More than that, the testimony he gave as to conditions in the packing houses has been totally disavowed by government officials, who state that the allegations that he made were utterly beyond the range of belief. Our answer to the San Diego *Union* is that the government had better try again, and choose its hired witnesses a little more carefully the next time, and that this is merely one more example of the prostitution of the machinery of justice in the name of democracy and liberty which has been going on in America ever since the World War began.

A FEDERAL marriage and divorce law, uniform for the entire country, is a fine-sounding proposition and undoubtedly has theoretical arguments in its favor. But when one compares the present state of divorce law in this country with the rapidly broadening ideas as to a nobler marriage relation, it should be apparent that any attempt to crystallize a standard divorce law for the whole United States would be an unmitigated calamity. The present state of confusion due to the varying laws is at least forty-eight times better than the situation in England, for instance, where for years a losing fight has been waged to change a rigid law, cruel where it is not farcical and wholly out of touch with the times. Only the other day the House of Lords, sitting as a court of appeals, refused, doubtless in strict compliance with the law, to grant a divorce to a woman married to a convicted murderer, hopelessly insane, detained for life in a criminal lunatic asylum. Lord Birkenhead in rendering the decision said:

> The true remedy lies outside any court of law. It lies beyond the scope of your Lordships' faculties sitting as a supreme appellate tribunal. It rests with Parliament, if and when it thinks proper to end a state of things which in a civilized community in the name of morality imposes such intolerable hardship upon innocent women.

A nation-wide divorce law might be modern and humane, as it is in the Scandinavian countries and in Russia. It might be like that of England; and those who know the American temper have better reason to fear Puritan repression than to expect intelligence and freedom.

THE war was on. Men were being mobilized; uniforms were needed in a hurry. The woolen interests smacked their lips and started the looms whirring. Just then the government announced that its own mills and shops were prepared to turn out a good part of the military requirements at cost. The woolen interests had to get along with only slightly swollen profits. The war ended, but the people's cloth and clothing plants went on turning out goods and garments and blankets for government use and for general sale. The workers received better than the prevalent wages, and a quarterly bonus. Although the output was sold at a price just above the cost of production the mills showed yearly profits, which since the war have totaled nearly $800,000. These plants are not located in the United States—nobody interfered with the profits of the woolen interests here—nor in a socialist textbook Utopia. They are in Australia, where things have happened before.

JUSTICE VAN ORSDELL of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals has decided that the minimum wage law of the District is invalid. "The constitutional limitations upon Congress involve fundamental principles of human rights reserved to the whole people, and not any favored class of citizenship," declares this learned jurist. A minimum wage for women, he holds, denies the equal protection of the law to rich and poor, to strong and weak, to all classes alike without distinction. We recommend to his Honor a reading of Anatole France's "Red Lily." His eye might pause at Chouette's reference to "the majestic equality of the laws, which forbid rich and poor alike to sleep under the bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal their bread." In fact he might note Chouette's conclusion: "In the name of equality it [the French Revolution] founded the empire of wealth." Fortunately the Supreme Court of the United States has already shown that its idea of the "equal protection of the law" differs from the eighteenth century ideology of the learned Justice Van Orsdell.

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Election by Disgust Again

JUST as was the case two years ago it was an election by disgust. Once more the electorate turned the rascals out, but never before in our political history has there been so startling and so wide-spread a reversal of an overwhelming verdict rendered only two years before. No one would have ventured to suggest then that within twenty-four months New Hampshire, Oregon, Washington, and Kansas would be carried by the Democrats, and a Democratic Governor elected in New York by a plurality of more than 400,000. The pendulum has swung back almost as far as it could have. The question remains, however, what has really been accomplished, and whether we have done anything else than repel Tweedledum and embrace Tweedledee.

Well, if we should simply restrict ourselves to the evidences of Democratic success in the East we should be unmoved by the spectacle of a return from the frying pan to the fire. But, as we stated last week, there is something extremely encouraging in the fact that the electorate has registered its resentment in such unmistakable terms. It looked as if the Republican Party could put over this latest bit of indefensible tariff-grabbing and get off unscathed. The most experienced political correspondents, like Mark Sullivan and David Lawrence, failed to prepare us for the event. In Indiana Senator Beveridge was aware that there was much public unrest, yet he was confident of his election. Mr. Sullivan, after his trip through the West, was certain that the situation had greatly improved for the Republicans and that they would hold a majority of about forty seats; it was generally agreed that after the ending of the strikes the Republican prospects had brightened. Instead of which we see a vote which has stunned Washington, and gives no ground for the assumption that anything done by the Harding Administration has met with the approval of the electorate. We cannot imagine that the party will be so foolish as to renominate Mr. Harding after this or that he would be willing to accept a second candidacy and risk political extinction such as came to Mr. Taft under similar conditions.

But there are vastly more important results than this to hearten liberals everywhere. The ship subsidy bill has probably been killed by this vote, and so has all possibility of further plundering of the Treasury on a great scale while Mr. Harding is in the White House. If they read the lesson of the ballots aright, Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes will find no approval whatever of their foreign policies. Their indefensible attitude toward Mexico and Haiti, their stupidity in dealing with Russia, their failure to take the lead in bringing the nations together for the economic restoration of Europe, are without the shadow of an indorsement. They will, of course, attribute the defeat to various causes, and it is undeniable that it represents the sum total of a long list of dissatisfactions, but at least they cannot deceive themselves with the assumption that they have popular approval for any one of their policies. Nothing was less effective in the campaign than Mr. Hughes's cold-blooded, "hard-boiled", eleventh-hour defense of the conduct of our foreign affairs. Even more important than all this is the amazing fact that Congress will now be controlled by what the newspapers in their misuse of language call "the radical group." The liberal bloc, for which *The Nation* has been calling for two years past, is here and it is in the saddle. Mr. Harding and his Administration will henceforth have to make terms with Borah, LaFollette, Ladd, Norris, and Johnson, with whom will now stand Frazier of North Dakota, Howell of Nebraska, Shipstead of Minnesota, Brookhart of Iowa, and probably on many occasions Reed of Missouri, who, read out of his party convention two years ago by Woodrow Wilson, returns to the Senate perhaps the freest man in it, so far as any party or group allegiance is concerned. The opportunities which rise before this group are almost overwhelming. They can make over the policies of the Republican Party, they can revive all the Progressive enthusiasm of 1912, they can block further blunders by the Harding Administration, they can dictate the next Republican Presidential candidate, or they can discard that party and build a new one, secure in the feeling that they represent the popular desire. For, wherever the progressive or farmer-labor movement appeared in strength, there it was victorious. Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana—from all these States comes good news. In every one of them the dominating machine was soundly thrashed, or a blow struck, as in Montana and Colorado, against the big-business domination of those States. No one can study the returns from this section, and not feel profoundly heartened and cheered. An election which puts William E. Sweet into the governorship of Colorado, George W. P. Hunt into that of Arizona, and John J. Blaine back into that of Wisconsin is in itself no mean election.

Never in any such contest was there a greater or more intelligent splitting of tickets, or greater evidence of thought on the part of the voters. In Ohio, for instance, the absurd Presidential boom of the dull and belligerent Senator Pomerene was ended by the election of Congressman Fess, Republican. Then the voters turned around and elected a Democratic Governor. In Nebraska they chose Mr. Bryan's brother, a Democrat, as Governor, and turned out Senator Hitchcock, giving a thoroughly deserved punishment to one who, for party reasons, so completely misrepresented his constituency and abandoned American idealism during the war. In New York City 205,808 votes were cast for Charles P. Steinmetz, the Socialist candidate for State Engineer, although he made no personal campaign and no other Socialist candidate received more than 92,000 votes. But when all is said and done the fact remains that the voters revived a party which ought to be amalgamated with the Republicans, for there is now no shadow of difference between them save in the degree of tariff robbery we should groan under. Like the man who accepted two dollars from the Democrats and five dollars from the Republicans, and then voted for the Democrats because they were the less corrupting, the voters have again chosen the lesser evil, have again voted to punish.

None the less the ferment which the election clearly reveals is a most hopeful augury that the day is not far off when voting may again be *for* constructive policies instead of merely *against* officials or party. A surprising number of free, able, and forward-looking men will control Congress and rule in some of the State capitals. Great economic forces are in play. The deeps are breaking up. What true democrat can feel else than fresh inspiration to the tasks before us?

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The Third Party Is Born

THE impossible has happened. The farmers and labor have got together, and a new party has been born. It does not matter that LaFollette, Brookhart, and Howell, in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska, keep the name "Republican", that Governor-elect Sweet of Colorado and Governor-elect Hunt of Arizona, like Dill and Wheeler, the new Senators from Washington and Montana, call themselves "Democrats." These men stand for the same things and they know it; the same forces elected them regardless of the label; they will work together against the things for which both old party machines stand, and whether or not the forces which elected them frankly take the name "Farmer-Labor Party" as did the forces which elected that stalwart six-foot-two son of the Vikings, Henrik Shipstead, Senator from Minnesota, they are a farmer-labor party. The fusion has been effected, and henceforth the farmer-labor alliance of the producing forces of the country in the Middle West is a political fact.

This we owe largely to the Nonpartisan League. The Nonpartisan League has been buried in the metropolitan newspapers a dozen times; it has lost control of the State machinery in its own home, North Dakota; but its soul goes marching on. The Dakota farmers broke away from the old fiction that the interests of labor and the farmers were necessarily opposed, and allied themselves with townsmen who suffered from exploitation by middlemen just as they did. That alliance, still so remote in Eastern States, has spread westward into Montana and Washington, southward into Nebraska, Colorado, and Oklahoma, eastward into Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The Harding Administration's devotion to tariff and ship subsidy has helped cement the bonds. Farmers and city workers alike resented the Administration's support of the Esch-Cummins Act and its constant partisanship for the railroads. The same powers were arrayed against the Dakota program of State grain elevators and State rural credits as were stoutly fighting union labor.

But liberals owe the Nonpartisan League thanks for even more than this. It discovered the effective method of creating a third party. In these modern days the cost of establishing the machinery of a third party is almost prohibitive, and the inertia of masses of voters who stand by hereditary party preferences without regard to present-day issues is almost too great to be overcome. The Nonpartisan League realized the fatuity of party labels. "'Republican Party' means nothing today," they said; "why not capture that Party's machinery, and use that label in our campaign?" They did. In other States they aimed at the Democratic machinery. Sometimes they succeeded; sometimes they failed. In no State but North Dakota did they actually capture a party and win an election. But the farmer-labor alliance which they had founded, sweeping beyond the limits of their organization, continued to use party primaries with perfect indifference to party names, and this election has showed that Western voters understand and approve. The new party is the Democratic Party in Washington, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Arizona; it is the Republican Party in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska. It is a power in the Republican Party in North and South Dakota and in the Democratic Party in Kansas. It has arrived.

And it arrives borne by a great underground swell. It is an authentic movement of the masses. It is not the product of any one, or two, or three, powerful personalities. It rejoices in Senator Borah's growing national leadership, but it is still a little skeptical of his economic thinking. It is proud of LaFollette, but it does not tie its fortunes to his personal career. It knows that it is fortunate in having no Roosevelt, in being a movement growing from the bottom up.

The West is the nursery of new parties. There the Republican Party was born. There the Populists took quick root, and quickly withered. There the Progressive Party reached its apogee. This new party has deeper roots. It has picked up much of Progressivism, but we think it has a more fundamental understanding of economic issues. It is frankly tied primarily to the cause of the dirt farmer and of the man who works with his hands. If it breaks away from those moorings it will run the danger of capture by pleasantly sympathetic politicians who will be only too ready to ruin it by joining. Many of the politicians of the Farm Bloc and leaders of the Farm Bureau Federation are of that shallow type. The appeal of Colonel Robert H. Montgomery for an alliance of the manufacturers and the farmers, with Bernard M. Baruch as leader, would if heeded be the ruin of the new western movement. Mr. Baruch disavows the appeal, but there will be other such attempts to divert the farmer from emphasis upon membership in the producing class to emphasis upon property-owning, but there are probably too many tenant farmers and mortgaged farms to make such an appeal permanent. There is also the danger of shallow demagogy, wasting itself in oratorical denunciations of Wall Street instead of attacking the power of absentee finance where it is most vulnerable. But these are the dangers of any political movement. They may be overcome but they will always be present. This farmer-labor alliance, with its name a witness of its economic basis, is, we believe, the most hopeful political movement since the birth of the Republican Party in anti-slavery days. With it older groups of protesters, if they are realistic, will ally themselves. It is far and away the best thing that has happened to America since the war welded upon us the political and economic despotism from which, as this election shows, we *are* emerging.

The Oath of the Fascisti

By the blood of our two thousand martyrs whom we invoke as witnesses and judges of our actions we, the black-shirts of Piacenza Province, swear that for one year,

First, we will not wear on our persons or keep in our houses anything made of gold, silver, or precious metals or stones;

Second, we claim for ourselves the privilege of working ardently without pay for the good of our country;

Third, we renounce all worldly amusements which are not expressions of civic joy for our nation's progress;

Fourth, we will give all superfluous ornaments to a fund for supporting enterprises having goodness, civilization, beauty, and improvement as their object.

SOMETHING of old Rome speaks in this oath of the Fascisti, and something of Moscow. Were these black-shirts of Anglo-Saxon tradition we should say that something of Oliver Cromwell was in their breasts. Since they are Italians, we may call it Savonarola's Florence, the spirit behind the religious carnival of 1496, when it is recorded that "the citizens gave their costliest possessions in alms to the poor, and tonsured monks, crowned in flowers, sang lauds and performed wild dances for the glory of God," or the Burning of the Vanities in the following year. Garibaldi's

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Red-shirts, d'Annunzio's madness at Fiume, and his other-worldly constitution of the Republic of Quarnaro, speak through these men. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus must smile in the Elysian Fields and dream of the days when he, Stoic-educated, stalked the streets of Rome with a volunteer bodyguard of 3,000 citizens at his heels, denouncing the luxuries of his class and preaching division of land and free grain for the poor—two thousand and fifty years ago. Human nature and Italian nature have not changed.

These Fascisti startle our Western world, but they are no strange phenomenon. We Americans have them in a cruder and less devoted form in the Legion and the Klan. Moscow has the same spirit in the Communist Party. They are devoted men with an ideal, which they are ready and determined to force upon their countrymen. The nature of the ideal to such men is often less important than the devotion and the violence. The ordered processes of law are too slow for them. Italy's Fascisti refused to await an election, because they feared to lose it under Italy's eminently fair system of proportional representation. They were an organized mob which dared to seize power; their revolution was relatively bloodless because the King had the good sense to give way to it, and because previous months of bloodshed had routed their only effective opponents, the Communists. But the test comes in making an ideal real. What do these Fascisti mean by "goodness, civilization, beauty, and improvement"? They probably have no idea. It is a fair gesture to give up all your goods; but more than that, more even than St. Paul's charity, is needed; the gesture of giving without the wisdom to select the aim is wasted. Puritanism, self-sacrifice, devotion, renunciation —all these are not enough. History pays scant attention to these virtues; it immorally lauds revolutionaries who win the victory and damns those who fail. It may accept the Bolsheviki, who have retained so much of the cruel and intolerant tradition of their country, because they not only have a beautiful goal, but also seem to be moving toward it. History will judge them, as it does the French revolutionaries, by their final achievement. The Fascisti, who also show courage and devotion to their ideal, do not seem yet to have defined that ideal. Unless Mussolini speedily develops something more than vague nationalism and hard work as a program he will fade as completely as Kerenski, and be replaced by some group with more defined aims, whether reactionary or bolshevistic, who will themselves fade in time, as time withers all well-defined dreams.

Fearless and utterly disinterested faith in ideals sweeps into this workaday world with such a blast of sound and such a splash of color that we are prone to welcome it at any cost. There is nothing more dangerous. The selflessness of wartime was an emotional indulgence for which we have been paying in a latter-day apathy. The sudden realizations of Soviet Hungary, so easy, so purely emotional, so little the product of hard thinking, served as excuse for and made possible the White Terror that followed them. Without the enthusiastic seizure of the factories in Italy Fascism would never have had its chance. The excesses of generations of Romanovs lie behind the needless cruelties that have marred the epic of Soviet Russia. And the violent intolerance of the Fascisti, unless it speedily crystallizes into something more than Puritan romanticism, will merely have sapped the energies of Italy, and will, like the careers of the Gracchi and of Savonarola, only add to history's archives of pretty stories.

The Deflation of Pie

SOMEHOW we cannot rejoice as much as we should like to over the dispatch from Albany, New York, saying that the one-armed-chair restaurants of that city, hearing that the war is over, have gone back to five cents as the price of a slice of pie. It is not the inconvenience and expense of going to Albany that moistens our enthusiasm, but the conviction that the announcement is a hoax. We do not mean that the price is a hoax; we mean the much sadder and more poignant fact that the pie itself is a hoax. For of all the devastation of the war the most devastating was sustained by that great American institution, pie. Let us get it straight: Pie is not only *a* great American institution; it is *the* great American institution. This country was founded by men who had pie for breakfast, pie for dinner, pie for supper; in addition they usually had a slice or so before going to bed at night. The only time they did not eat pie was when they were asleep, at work, or in church.

But war played the very Old Nick with pie. Not only did the one-armed restaurants, where editors and other members of the proletariat are obliged to eat, raise the price from five to ten cents a slice; they began a more insidious and dangerous attack from inside. Resorting to the policy of "boring from within," they began to sabotage the contents of America's greatest culinary triumph. Slices of peach pie—once a dish for which men would gladly die—began to consist of one half of a hard, canned peach surrounded by a few shreds of tasteless dried peach, the whole embalmed in a soggy, insipid, indigestible paste of flour and gelatine, supplied in quantity by the bill-posters' union. Pumpkin pie—once entitled to a place as the Eighth Wonder of the World—was brought forth in pale, sickly slabs wrought from a combination of pine sawdust and synthetic sweet, extracted from a can. Worst of all was what happened to blueberry pie. No language has ever been invented, no words discovered, adequate to describe good blueberry pie. The proof of such pastry is the juice. A fork is a wholly impotent weapon with which to attack good blueberry pie. One requires a spoon, or a straw. Think, then, of the havoc the war wrought by making possible blueberry pie that could be—and was—cut into slices as solid as Carrara marble! In most industry deflation came after, not during, the war. Not so in the supreme and surpassing industry of pie-making. There adulteration, deterioration, and deflation came in the heat of the conflict and have continued ever since.

It is idle to say that good pie can still be obtained in our best homes and in the better—and more expensive—restaurants. Our office boys, messengers, apprentices, and army of young clerks—the golden youth of America that ought to be growing up on a strong, sturdy diet of pie—must eat much, if not mostly, in the humbler caravansaries of only one arm. Gradually our youth is being corrupted—is being driven to a regimen of marshmallow nut sundae or banana split. No wonder the old Americanism is in a bad way. We put it to you plainly: Could the Emancipation Proclamation have been written by a man who had just risen from a dish of marshmallow nut sundae or banana split? Hence we cannot rejoice as much as we should like to over the news from Albany. What advantage is a reduction in price if the article in question is worthless? What use to tantalize an undernourished public by saying, Pie, pie, when there is no pie?

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The Liberal Sweep in the West

Shipstead—Choice of a Third Party

Minneapolis, November 10

A THIRD party in Minnesota has elected Henrik Shipstead to the United States Senate. This party operated under the name of the Farmer Labor Party. It frankly stated its aims and aspirations, its tenets and principles. It brought Senator Robert M. La Follette into the State to campaign for its senatorial candidate, and Senator La Follette advocated the formation of a national third party to "bring back government to the people." The Farmer Labor Party carried the three major cities of the State—Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. St. Paul is the home of Senator Frank B. Kellogg, defeated Republican machine candidate. Minneapolis has been the stronghold of Republican conservatism for sixty years. Magnus Johnson, farmer, the third party's candidate for Governor, all but defeated Governor J. A. O. Preus, "big boss of the State." It will send five out of ten Congressmen to carry its principles to Washington, and will control the State legislature.

With the advent of the Farmer Labor Party as an entity has come the death of false war enthusiasms and appeals to petty prejudices. The old war psychology was invoked by the Preus-Kellogg machine to no avail. The Minneapolis *Journal*—the New York *Times* of the Northwest—on the eve of the election in a two-column, front-page editorial said:

> The armies of radicalism are afoot. In the rank and file are many well-meaning misguided citizens—those who have drunk of the heavy liquor of discontent and theory, those who are impatient of the slow but sure processes of reconstruction after the greatest war in history, those who have been persuaded that the world is all wrong, and that free institutions, which are the heritage of the ages, must first be broken and cast down that upon their ruins may be raised a new and super-perfect structure. Whatever the ideas and purposes of those who are marching along on the fringe of radicalism, let us not one moment forget that in the heart of the army, guiding its movements, planning its strategy, stalks communism—wearing some of its many disguises. Whether its face be that of socialism, of sovietism, of bolshevism, of I.W.W.'ism, its heart is the same. It is the heart of red revolution.

In the face of this frightful prospect the *Journal's* own readers in the reactionary Eighth and Thirteenth wards in good old Minneapolis marched to the ballot box and dropped in their votes for Shipstead. Shipstead's victory must be seen, therefore, as marking a political movement in advance of La Follette's, or Brookhart's, or Frazier's, who technically at least are Republicans. Minnesota, home of the Steel Trust, of Gopher Prairie, of Volstead, has marched to the head of the progressive column.

The first intimation of the temper of the electorate came late in the campaign, when Vice-President Calvin Coolidge was driven out of the speaker's stand by 20,000 State fair spectators. This was the most remarkable manifestation of crowd impatience the writer has ever seen. There were no boo-ings. It was a spontaneous uprising against dulness and futility. This was in September. Following this came the great potato catastrophe. Minnesota farmers with their biggest crop of potatoes—nearly 30,000,000 bushels—were without cars for transportation and without a market price to make it profitable to dig them. Wheat which cost on the average $1.57 a bushel to sow and reap brought only 80 cents a bushel to the man who sowed and reaped it. These conditions were aggravated by the coal and railroad strikes. Minnesota did not receive anywhere near its full quota of either hard or soft coal, despite pretentious efforts of Kellogg and Preus. In the face of these conditions talk about "improved agricultural conditions," "reduced taxes," and "prosperity" fell flat.

There is little doubt that the personalities of Henrik Shipstead and Frank B. Kellogg entered into the final result. Kellogg is an unconvincing campaigner. Every time he appeared on the public platform he contributed to his own defeat. He manifested extreme nervousness and struck his audiences as lacking belief in his own cause. He refused to answer questions and sidestepped the issue of Newberryism. In contrast, Shipstead, young, tall, and vigorous, with the air of his Viking ancestors, was the essence of belligerent frankness. He welcomed heckling. He was uncompromising in his policy of linking politics with economics. He closed up his dentist's office, chose his wife as his sole campaign manager, took the little money that was available, and canvassed the entire State.

There were accidental factors which militated against Kellogg's reelection. Refusal of members of the State fair board to allow Senator La Follette the use of the publicly owned hippodrome for a meeting because La Follette was "pro-German and a Socialist" brought bitter public reaction. Senator La Follette and Governor Blaine of Wisconsin made ten speeches in the State in behalf of Shipstead. Shipstead also had the support of the railroad brotherhoods. More important than all these minor factors was an incident of another kind. Senator Knute Nelson came to Minneapolis and pompously nominated his two former secretaries, Governor Preus and Ivan Bowen, State Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner, for United States Senator and Governor respectively two years hence. This was one of those minor mistakes of strategy which wreck whole campaigns. "King Knute and his heirs apparent" became the butts of ridicule for both Republicans and their opponents. This incident alienated Colonel George E. Leach, Mayor of Minneapolis, Kellogg's opponent in the Republican convention, popular because of his fight for public ownership of water power in Minnesota, and Lieutenant-Governor Louis L. Collins, equally popular with ex-service men.

"Normalcy and prosperity elected me," Shipstead said in commenting informally on his election. He referred, of course, to underlying economic motives of the campaign. Like La Follette, Brookhart, and Frazier, he conceived his campaign as a battle against corporation control of government. Like them, he demanded the repeal of the Cummins-Esch law, the reorganization of the Federal Reserve banking system to make it function in behalf of the farmer, adjusted compensation, reopening of the Newberry case, and revision of the tariff.

"I am of course personally glad for my victory. But I am more glad for the folks out in the country," he said to a group of friends. These words were uttered without affectation. They delineate the salient characteristic of the man, and of the new party. Shipstead visions the human side of politics. He sees the people behind the ballot box. This function of the political leader reactionary politicians have not performed for a generation.

M. H. HEDGES

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What Happened in Michigan

Detroit, November 11

THE action of Michigan electors who, comprising a normal rock-ribbed Republican majority of over 200,000, turned aside to defeat a Republican Senator of twelve years' service and elect in his place a Democrat, carries two implications. First, the positive repugnance of the American public to the money taint in politics. Second, the growing consciousness that party solidarity almost inevitably makes for the decay of public service and encourages the elevation of small men who serve the party only and then become, by mere passage of time, national figures.

Without doubt Senator Townsend drew no strength from the record of the Harding Administration, of which the Fordney-McCumber tariff is a sufficiently unsatisfactory and characteristic achievement. Michigan reelected a Republican Governor by a flattering majority and in almost every other instance remained true to its party tradition. The voters, even if not wholly alienated from Republicanism, were in no mood, apparently, to respond to the campaign orators sent into the State from Republican National Headquarters, and strengthen an Administration they distrusted by the preservation of Townsend.

Newberryism had shocked every honorable citizen in the State, and this, the outstanding issue, Senator Townsend and his campaign speakers refused to discuss. Their silence emphasized conviction that it could not be discussed nor explained. The Michigan public recalled the circumstances under which Charles Townsend went to the Senate, apparently a young man of progressive thought; they contemplated the steady conversion of this flaming champion who denounced Lorimer to snug companionship with the Old Guard and, eventually, to support of a Senator whose seat, obtained by a confessed expenditure of more than $176,000, was an object of indignation to the whole American public. Inasmuch as Newberryism was a State scandal and had to be removed, Townsend, as its apostle, had to be removed also. Ferris, on the other hand, pledged his whole strength to the ousting of Newberry and the ending of his brand of treasonable corruption.

The "good gray Governor" they called Ferris in Michigan before and during the campaign, a man of genuinely democratic philosophy which has been unaltered by a laboriously won but substantial fortune, the product of his highly successful school at Big Rapids, the Ferris Institute. The homely traits of character, the steadfast integrity, the courage which have been evidenced in the building up of his private fortune since he founded his school in 1884 in the heart of Michigan's lumber district, marked his career as Governor of Michigan from 1913 to 1917. Aided by defections in the Republican Party, which split in Michigan as a result of the Bay City convention and the consequent bolt of Roosevelt, he swept the State in 1912 and won the governorship by a plurality of 24,054, becoming the first Democratic Governor in more than a generation. In the succeeding campaign he was again elected by 35,809 votes. Both terms were served with a practically solid Republican legislature, with which he was in constant harmony, thanks to the sincere, modest, and diligent service he rendered the State. His single trial of popularity resulted from the throwing of the military of the State into the upper peninsula during the mine strikes led by Moyer in the copper region; but his final justification for action lay in the fact that during the eight months the strike was in progress not a miner was killed by a soldier nor a soldier by a miner; citizens were protected, and neither miners' nor operators' property was destroyed. The copper country went against him in the recent election, but labor never considered him its foe.

No Democrat has been sent to the United States Senate from Michigan since the Republican Party was organized in the Senator's home city, Jackson. In fact, the last election of a Democrat to the Senate occurred seventy years ago, the year before Mr. Ferris was born. L. W.

A Progressive Governor for Colorado

Denver, November 11

WILLIAM E. SWEET'S successful fight for the governorship of Colorado was waged with a radical program on a Democratic ticket. He was called a Socialist, a Bolshevist, an Anarchist; almost the whole press of the State was against him, but he stumped Colorado from end to end and won his fight by the sheer force of his persuasion and his progressive ideas.

Although Mr. Sweet is a wealthy man, a member of the largest bond firm west of Chicago, he went before the voters with a demand for a living wage as the minimum wage for labor and for a system of cooperative marketing and State storage for farmers. He branded the Colorado rangers and the State constabulary as tools of the corporate interests and pledged their abolition. He called the recent expulsion from Colorado of William Z. Foster illegal and un-American and carried his denunciation of the outrage into Colorado Springs, the home of Governor Shoup—and also, said Sweet, of special privilege, where he defended the right of free speech and declared that Foster's expulsion at the hands of the rangers, even before he had made any public utterance, smacked of Czarism and was the logical result of the psychology which sweeps the minds of men who are armed with power. "I want to get rid of the whole war psychology," he said in his attack on the constabulary.

His message was the same whether he talked to farmers at a cross-roads meeting, or to miners in a coal camp, or addressed great rallies such as Colorado has not seen since Roosevelt and Bryan campaigned. Although for many years Mr. Sweet has been a leader in church circles and active in the Y. M. C. A., he was attacked from every pulpit in Denver as soon as his economic ideas were advanced. But his sincerity could not be questioned, and in spite of his wealth he won the indorsement of the Colorado State Federation of Labor. Direct and pugnacious in speech, he made clear his absolute independence of special interests and said: "I have no reason under the sun to want to be elected Governor except to help bring to the common people some of the better things of life." He will be independent of party interests as well; even during the campaign he promised freely that if he failed to carry his program through the legislature on party lines, he would seek to form a farmer and labor bloc to force a living wage for workers and a fair return for farmers.

So Colorado has chosen a truly progressive Governor—a man who is willing to go to the root of our present social ills to find a reason and to evolve a remedy. Colorado is ready for him and is counting on him to do a thorough job.

HILLARD D. GARRITSON

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Montana Comes Back

Missoula, November 10

CONSPICUOUS among liberal elections this fall is Montana's return to her old progressive standards. Defeated for the governorship two years ago by 40,000 votes, chiefly because of his connection with the Nonpartisan League and his alleged seditious attitude while serving as United States District Attorney in Butte during the war, Burton K. Wheeler has just been elected United States Senator from Montana by a comfortable majority. With him to Washington goes John M. Evans to the Lower House, his campaign having been made solely upon two issues: a constitutional amendment providing for a referendum before war may be declared, and disarmament.

Mr. Wheeler, who for twelve years has been a successful lawyer in Butte, has been conspicuously a friend of the working people. His career, professional and official, has been a vigorous one, combated at every step by the powerful mining interests of the State. Yet in the discharge of every duty he has established more and more firmly his absolute fearlessness and independence.

As United States District Attorney during the war, Mr. Wheeler was made a target of invective by the newspapers throughout the State for his refusal to prosecute certain cases of alleged sedition. Both houses of the legislature, hitching their blameless trousers out of the mire of disloyalty, passed resolutions demanding Mr. Wheeler's resignation. The State Bar Association followed the lead of the legislature. And it is rumored that a delegation of the State's most distinguished legal talent traveled to Washington to ask Senator Walsh to recall his appointee.

Referring to those days, Federal Judge Bourquin, in a recent letter to Mr. Wheeler, said:

> The times were favorable to loose, unfounded, and trivial charges of that character, many of them inspired by malice and for personal ends. . . . A competent prosecutor will always refuse to prosecute such cases. In so far as you did refuse to prosecute, it was with the sanction, approval, and suggestion of the court, in furtherance of sound public policy, and in vindication of your official oath and duty to yourself, to the court, and to society. I make this statement with no object except simple justice to an able, diligent, conscientious prosecutor in a most trying period of our country's history.

Two years ago Mr. Wheeler ran for Governor of Montana on the Democratic ticket. The Nonpartisan League was raising its head for the first time in Montana politics; and the local Democrats and Republicans, fearful of a repetition of the North Dakota trick, booed and snarled with one accord. But to no effect. The Nonpartisans swarmed like bees into the Democratic primaries, while the terrified Democrats fled from their own ticket and voted *en masse* for the Republican candidate. The abuse with which the newspapers assailed Mr. Wheeler in that campaign because of his Nonpartisan support becomes humorous in the light of the commendation accorded him this fall by those same newspapers. With the Nonpartisan League no longer an issue, and unopposed by the mining interests of the State, Mr. Wheeler changes from "the reddest Bolshevik that ever came out of Russia to betray the people of his own State," to a lawyer of unquestioned ability, a lover of the people's welfare, and a loyal Democrat!

Mr. Wheeler was indorsed in the primaries by the Conference for Progressive Political Action (labor unions, the Farmer's Union, etc.) and again by the Nonpartisan League. His big vote in the final election came from the cities: from Butte with its copper mines, from Anaconda with its great smelter, from Missoula with its railroad shops. In these communities his votes outnumbered those of his opponents two to one. A surprising part of his vote came from the eastern dry-land farming districts which were conceded throughout the campaign to be his opponent's territory. His opponent, Congressman Carl W. Riddick, a practical politician, ignored the cities completely in his campaign, and confined his activities to shaking hands with the farmers of his own rural district. With nothing except a good appearance and a genius for organization, he was precipitated into Congress two years ago on the Republican ticket by the Republican-Democratic panic. From Washington he claimed credit for every birth, post office appointment, and other important event in his district. Also he became financial secretary of the Republican congressional committee, and revealed an adroitness in soliciting campaign funds from civil service employees.

It was confidently expected, even by Wheeler's friends, that Wheeler's heavy majority in the cities would be more than met by Riddick's vote in the rural districts. But when a precinct in the heart of the district in which Riddick resides led the eastern Montana returns with 29 votes for Riddick and 108 for Wheeler, the results began to be evident. A few counties gave Riddick a lead over Wheeler, but it was not enough of a lead to check the State-wide majority for Wheeler which totaled approximately 18,000 when the vote was all in.

It is known that the mining interests were friendly to Wheeler's campaign, and that they even put paid speakers in the field for him, despite the fact that Wheeler has never been friendly to them. The only way in which this can be accounted for is that the mining interests, eager to defeat the Republican legislators who were pledged to support Governor Dixon's plan to readjust taxes in Montana, threw all their forces to the Democratic leader. However that may be, Mr. Wheeler goes to Washington with the confidence of the people of Montana. His outstanding ability, his courage, his level-headedness, and his consistent record of loyalty to the working classes have gained him the trust of his constituents. He has a fine appearance, a strong personality, and unquestioned charm. With his friend and colleague, the scholarly and conservative T. J. Walsh, whose sturdy defense of constitutional liberties in his recent minority report on the "Palmer atrocities" has won the respect of fair-minded men and women, he should make a brilliant record in the Senate. He has stated publicly his approval of amnesty for political prisoners, his approval of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, his opposition to the Esch-Cummins law and to the ship subsidy bill. Furthermore, he is going to introduce a constitutional amendment against child labor. In other respects, his campaign was made largely on party issues.

Congressman Evans, however, with his disarmament platform and his war-referendum plank, veered far from party politics. He stated on the platform that as a member of the House of Representatives in 1917, he had voted for war. Now after five years, he is not so sure that he voted right. His conscience has been bothering him. He said on every platform in Montana that a declaration of war that throws millions of young men into professional murder is too great a responsibility for a few men to assume.

B. F.

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The New Turkish Democracy

By MUFTY-ZADE K. ZIA BEY

IF Voltaire were alive he might truthfully say that "it is Anatolia today which illumines the Old World." The Turkish nation has set up in Asia Minor a new form of democracy, a true government of the people for the people. This is by far the most important development of the Turkish Renaissance. During the last three years this new Turkish Government has given patent proofs of its efficiency both in military and civilian matters. Victories on the battlefield have only an ephemeral importance in the history of nations and in the evolution of mankind. Therefore we in Turkey consider with greater hope, if with equal pride, what we have been able to accomplish in the organization and administration of our country.

While we were fighting against tremendous odds to secure the independence and freedom of our country we were also organizing a new form of government to consolidate the fruits of our victories by bringing about an administrative and social reconstruction of new Turkey on truly democratic principles. And the efficiency of this new form of government in its civilian administration has just received an impartial recognition by the Committee of Investigation sent by Admiral Mark L. Bristol, United States High Commissioner in Constantinople, into the territories recently liberated from our enemies. As reported by the American press the members of this commission have declared that only a few weeks after the redemption of our provinces the new Turkish administration had established perfect order, and brought quiet and prosperity out of chaos and anarchy. They further stated that the much-needed work of reconstruction in the territories devastated by the Greeks in their retreat had already started and that everyone, including even the Greek prisoners of war, was well treated and satisfied. These accomplishments deserve to retain the attention of the world, especially as certain European countries better equipped than Turkey are still, after four years of official peace, hysterically struggling through a muddle of so-called reconstruction work with which their cumbersome and out-of-date forms of parliamentary government are totally inadequate to cope.

The forms of democracy of Western Europe are all based on the parliamentary system. Some are conservative in structure, but more or less adaptable to circumstances, like that of Great Britain. Others, while republican in name, like France, are much nearer to parliamentary monarchies than to the form of republic known on this side of the ocean. Others again, while monarchies in name like Italy and Spain, are at times either verging on socialism or on conservatism according to the policy followed by the Cabinet in power. In all the executive powers are intrusted to a Cabinet which is at the mercy of political machinations and parliamentary intrigues. The Cabinet is jointly responsible to the Parliament. When one of its members shows himself incapable or undesirable the whole Cabinet is attacked by the opposition party and is often obliged to resign irrespective of the fact that the majority of its members may be the only politicians capable of carrying on the work started. At the fall of the Cabinet the politicians start once more their plotting and planning in which party considerations are per force above or at least on par with national considerations. Job-hunting flourishes. All administrative and constructive work undertaken by the outgoing party is placed into new hands, often inexpert and even totally ignorant of what has been done before. And most of the time the new-comers destroy the work of their predecessors and start anew from the very beginning for the sole purpose of obtaining the credit of any work accomplished for their own administration and for themselves. The inefficiency of this parliamentary system is so well recognized in Europe that in times of war, in times of national crisis, parliaments are dissolved, suspended, or tacitly rendered useless by an agreement between party leaders. In other words, precisely when the nation is most in danger the parliamentary governments place a muzzle upon the mouth of the people and, under the pretext of avoiding the confusion of party troubles, hermetically close their ears to their constituents.

During the Great War all European governments went through this process which finally brought about such an unbearable dictatorship of the few that reaction set in and many nations were almost thrown into the chaos of communism. The stringent measures adopted by the established governments staved this off in most countries. Later the example of Russia, where the failure of communism is becoming so evident that some bolshevik leaders have been obliged to discard certain of its extreme principles, established beyond doubt in the eyes of all intelligent people the dangers of communistic experiments within their own countries. People realized that it was safer to stay in the frying-pan than to jump into the fire. Thus the Old World settled once more into its old form of government, and parliamentarism with its cumbersomeness, its inefficiency, and its party politics became once more supreme in all European countries except Turkey.

The Turks realized that the fact that communism was unsuited to their own national traditions and was a form of government which engendered chaos and anarchy did not necessarily justify a return to the out-of-date parliamentary system. Turkish patriots set to work and devised a new form of government better fitted to the requirements of their country than any existing system, and more in harmony with the ideals and desires of the time—a real government of the people for the people.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908 was brought about by the openly admitted intention of the European countries to dismember Turkey. Spurred by the imminent danger of their country, Turkish leaders imbued with liberal and modern ideals took up the challenge of Europe and forced upon the autocratic Sultan Abdul Hamid the adoption of a parliamentary system of government which was to save Turkey. A Turkish constitution, copied from the constitutions prevailing in European parliamentary countries, was hastily adopted, and naturally resulted in party strife and intrigues. Instead of bringing about the reforms needed and desired by the people, the Committee of Union and Progress, the so-called Liberal Party, and others jumped into the fray and their leaders endeavored to secure or to maintain themselves in power.

Then the World War came. And it had the same results

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on the Turkish democratic institutions as in other parliamentary countries. Even more so. The leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress then in power, realizing that the Turkish people were neither in favor of entering the war on the side of Germany nor even of remaining under the administration of a pro-war party, suspended the Turkish Parliament and adopted a more stringent dictatorship than their war-mongering colleagues in other European countries. They dragged the country into the war on the side of Germany. After the signing of the Moudros armistice which definitely eliminated Turkey from the general war and caused the downfall of the Committee of Union and Progress the Allies reiterated their intention to proceed to the partition of Turkey and immediately endeavored to put their intentions into effect. Consequently the Turkish nation was once more spurred to patriotic exaltation as in 1908. But the country found itself now in a peculiar position. The press and the publicists were clamoring that the war had been fought to make the world safe for democracy and the rights of small nationalities. But on the other hand all semblance of organized administration in Turkey was being systematically broken down by the continuous encroachment of the Allies on the armistice terms which they had agreed upon at Moudros. The very rights of the Turkish nation—after all a small nationality of barely fifteen millions—were being systematically trampled under the booted feet of the Allies. Instead of being made safe for democracy Turkey was being made safe for the plunder of alien capitalists. Disarmed and disorganized, the Turkish nation was down—but not out. Turkey had to submit to slavery, or else to act. But her Sultan and the shadow of a government were under the very guns of the enemies in Constantinople. The Turkish nation took the burden upon itself. It made up its mind to live free and independent within its racial territories.

Withdrawing first to the lofty plains of Anatolia, the Turkish people summoned their Parliament, which was at the time suspended. Thus their first act was to take into their own hands one of the constitutional prerogatives of their monarch. This measure was rapidly followed by other similar encroachments on the sovereign's rights. Vested with full powers by the people, the duly elected members of the Parliament formed themselves into a Great National Assembly and assumed the right to defend the nation, to engage in war for the purpose of expelling the Greek invaders, and to determine the terms on which Turkey would be ready at any time to conclude peace with the Allies. Summoning the Parliament, declaring war, and concluding peace are three of the essential prerogatives of the chief of state in all parliamentary countries. These prerogatives were assumed by the Turkish people. The Turkish constitution had to be revised.

Parliamentarism had proved a failure. The people were unwilling to take the chance of being once more—for so-called reasons of state—subjected to the dictatorship of a few leaders. A republic was not to be thought of. European republics had proved to have the drawbacks of all parliamentary governments. Besides, the proclamation of a republic in Turkey would have been too dangerous a measure to take with aggressive and powerful soviets on the Caucasian border. Furthermore the Sultan is a tradition in Turkey and a Sultan with no real power is not a danger but only a luxury. The general international situation of Turkey made this luxury a necessity. The Sultan of Turkey is recognized as Caliph, or Spiritual Chief, of all Moslem countries, and through this fact Turkey can at any time exert a telling influence over the whole Moslem world. On the strength of this alone Turkey was enabled to stave off soviet intrigues and propaganda within her territory and even to force the modification of soviet policies in Asia. In her quality of leader of the Moslem world Turkey called upon the Bolsheviks and single-handed obtained more than the bulk of all the other nations of Europe put together. The Soviets agreed—and have since kept their undertaking—not to engage in bolshevik propaganda in Turkey and to apply only such bolshevik principles as are not incompatible with the principles of Islam in the Moslem territories of Russia. And one of the basic Moslem principles is the recognition of the sanctity of private property.

To evolve a new form of government which would reconcile all these different requirements and would at the same time satisfy the ideals of the people was a difficult task. But upon the initiative of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Great National Assembly—now a permanent Constituent Assembly—worked out a new Turkish constitution which not only has accomplished the purposes outlined above but has also given repeated proofs during these last three years of its efficiency and viability.

Broadly speaking, the theory of the new Turkish constitution is the reverse of the theory of all other European constitutions in so far as it attributes all sovereign rights to the people and places all executive powers in the hands of the National Assembly—whereas in European countries sovereign rights are the attributes of the chief of state and executive powers are confided to the cabinets.

Under the new constitution the Turkish people elect by universal suffrage, without distinction of sex or religion, representatives of either sex to the National Assembly. There are no electoral restrictions whatsoever except that both candidates and electors must be of age and mentally sound. Any Turkish citizen may become a candidate for any electoral district irrespective of residence. The representatives are elected for a certain number of years, but the length of their mandate has not yet been determined; it was decided that this point would have to await the establishment of peace so as not to hamper by general elections the fight for freedom in which the country is engaged. The Great National Assembly thus constituted by the duly elected representatives of all the people is directly and exclusively endowed with all executive powers to safeguard the sovereign rights of its mandatories the Turkish people. It elects by majority vote its President and vice-presidents whose functions, duties, and prerogatives are simply those of the presidents and vice-presidents of any other assembly. Again through elections by majority vote it elects its members to committees and sub-committees whose duties are to discharge the specific executive powers of the different government departments. To conduct the administrative work of these different departments, the president of the Assembly chooses, after consultation with the different parties, one candidate from each party for each department, and the Great National Assembly is then called upon to elect in full session from among these candidates—who are all members of the Assembly—those which by majority vote are deemed most capable of discharging the specific administrative functions. The members thus elected are called delegates. Each is in charge of a specific government department. To coordinate their administrative work, the

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president of the Assembly again appoints, after consultation with the different parties, one candidate from each party for the functions of First Delegate and the Assembly in full session elects one of these candidates. The Council of Delegates thus constituted has no executive power but is only delegated by the Great National Assembly to conduct the administrative work of the government departments. And each delegate is individually responsible to the Assembly for the good conduct of the administration of his own department. The Assembly holds him at all times personally responsible for his administration, and should it by majority vote express its dissatisfaction with the administration of any department the delegate intrusted with it is obliged to resign forthwith. But the responsibility being individual and not collective for the Council of Delegates, such a resignation never precipitates the fall of the Council. The resigning delegate again takes his seat in the Assembly and the President appoints new candidates for the department left vacant. The Assembly then elects one of these candidates as the new delegate.

All appointments for civil and military functions within the government departments, in the provinces, or even in the armies on the fields, have to be sanctioned by majority vote of the Assembly, and all functionaries thus appointed, both civilian and military, are directly responsible to the National Assembly. Thus the National Assembly exerts in full the executive powers for which it has received a mandate from the people. It can ask for an account delivered in person by any functionary and can vote the recall of any functionary whose account it does not deem satisfactory. This public interference in the actual running of all administrative and governmental functions, far from being unhealthy, has proved to be a boon even during the most critical periods of the last three years and has been strictly enforced by the Assembly even during the most acute crises and in matters pertaining to the immediate conduct of the war. For instance at the time of the second Greek offensive and when the Greek armies were almost menacing Angora, the National Assembly by a vote of censure caused the resignation of the commander of the western armies and elected a new commander in the field, with the result that Refet Pasha, the new commander, stemmed the Greek advance and changed a near defeat into a crushing victory.

According to the Turkish constitution no national or international obligation, agreement, or contract can be entered upon or even negotiated outside the Great National Assembly. For each specific case the representatives of the people elect one or more delegates whose explicit duty is to consult with the National Assembly on all the phases of the negotiations and to enter upon any agreement however temporary only upon the specific authorization of the Assembly. This stringent restriction insures the total elimination of secret negotiations, the total sovereignty of the people is respected, and arbitrary actions on the part of one or more dictators is made impossible. During his recent negotiations with Franklin Bouillon at Smyrna, Mustapha Kemal Pasha in person gave an example of the inability of any Turkish official to bring his country into an agreement, even in principle, without referring the whole matter to the representatives of the people. In Mudania Ismet Pasha was in the same position, and while the Turkish delegate had to consult the Turkish people, represented in the National Assembly, throughout the negotiation of the armistice treaty the so-called plenipotentiaries of the Allies had to consult only the premiers of their respective nations. Since the Turkish people through the Assembly were kept informed of all the turns taken by the negotiations, the Turkish authorities had no objection to the presence of their newspaper correspondents, while the Allied envoys endeavored to keep their own newspaper correspondents away even from Mudania. This feature of the Turkish constitution explains and justifies the Turkish demand that the coming peace conference be held in Smyrna or in some other place where the Turkish delegates can keep constantly and directly in touch with the representatives of the people.

The new Turkish constitution has established in theory and in fact a totally new conception of government in which the people are placed and maintained at the very top. This system is undoubtedly the most thorough form of government by the people yet devised in the Old World. It maintains the traditions of the country without at the same time impairing or endangering the sovereignty of the people. The future will gradually smooth out its imperfections if practice shows that it has any. It most certainly will have shortcomings: nothing is perfect in this world. But the stride made by Turkey is a long one.

The Law and the Profits

By DAVID Y. THOMAS

THE merry dance of stock dividends continues with unabated zeal. As a starting-point for the consideration of this practice let us take the spring of 1920. In March of that year the Supreme Court declared that stock dividends were not subject to taxation as income. For some time thereafter stock dividends ran riot. Within a week the press reported about forty concerns which had declared stock dividends ranging all the way from 3 per cent in the Kelley-Springfield Tire Company to 700 per cent in General Motors. Early in 1921 the New York *Times* published a list of 129 concerns whose stock dividends amounted to $777,875,932, not including stock of no par value. The list purported to include all since the decision of the Supreme Court referred to above, but it did not include some published in the earlier list. This much is clear, that the total amount of such dividends did not fall much, if any, below a billion dollars, enough to pay the expenses of our national government for a year on the pre-war basis.

Among the companies listed were the following:

	Per cent	*Dividend*
American Roller Mills	25	$3,100,244
Bank of America	200	3,000,000
Brown Shoe	33 1/3	3,100,000
Continental Oil	200	6,000,000
Crucible Steel	66 2/3	18,000,000
Easley Cotton Mills	300	1,350,000
General Motors	700	5,500,000
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co	150	31,136,000
International Harvester Co	12½	10,000,000
Libby, McNeil & Libby	50	6,400,000
Magnolia Petroleum	100	60,000,000
McKeesport Tin Plate	233 1/3	7,000,000
Northwestern Leather	233 1/3	1,920,000
Quaker Oats	25	2,250,000
South Porto Rico Sugar	100	5,602,000
Standard Oil of Indiana	150	45,000,000
Tiffany & Company	300	7,200,000
United Fuel	200	20,000,000
Woolworth, F. W.	30	15,000,000

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The meat packers were not included in the list published by the *Times*, but they have been practicing long division. In October, 1916, Armour and Company raised their capital from $20,000,000 to $100,000,000 by the simple process of issuing a stock dividend almost all of which went to the Armour family. In August, 1918, authority was given to increase the capital to $210,000,000, but only $28,000,000 of preferred stock was issued. In July, 1920, plans were perfected to raise the amount to $400,000,000 by a stock dividend, but the plan was abandoned early in 1921, because of decreased profits. Possibly the decrease in profits was partly due to the heavy advertising bills incurred in the process of telling the people that the company was making less than a cent a pound on its meats, that it was making no excess profits, and that the Trade Commission did not know what it was talking about when it said that the company had violated the law. Investigations of the Trade Commission showed also that Swift and Company had made good profits before the war, but that they had increased their profits to $192,260,000 in 1915-7, 180 per cent over the pre-war profits.

The older half of the younger generation can easily remember the riot of dividends in oil which followed the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust. The following table gives a part of the stock dividend history of several of the companies resulting from the dissolution:

Company	Year	Dividend Per Cent	New Per Cent	Capitalization (in millions) Old	New
Standard Oil of California	1912		80	$25	$45
	1914		10	45	50
	1916	50		50	75
	1917	33 1/3		75	100
	1922	100		100.9	201.9
Continental	1913	900		.3	3
	1917			3	12
Standard Oil of Indiana...	1912	2900		1	30
	1920	150	150	100*	
	1921			100	140
Standard Oil of Kentucky..	1914	200		1	3
	1917	100		3	6
	1922	33 1/3	33 1/3	6	12
Standard Oil of New York.	1913	400		15	75
	1922	200		75	225*
Stand. Oil of New Jersey pf	1919		100	99.3	198.3
pf	1920		100	198.3	298.3
	1922	400		110	625
Standard Oil of Ohio.....	1916	100		3.5	7
	1920			7	14
pf.	1920		100		7
Vacuum Oil	1912		500	2.5	15
Waters-Pierce	1913	2625		.4	10.5

A study of the earnings of these companies will make it easy to understand the dividends. In 1922 the Standard Oil of Kentucky had net profits amounting to $9,288,444 after having raised the capital from $1,000,000 in 1914 to $6,000,000 in 1916. The Standard Oil of Ohio reported earnings of $62 a share in 1920 and $51.54 in 1921. In 1920 the Standard Oil of California netted 41 per cent and paid out dividends amounting to about 14 per cent; in 1921, net profits 33 per cent, cash dividend 15 per cent. In 1920 the Standard Oil of Kansas netted the modest sum of $102.17 a share.

* The second column under per cent refers to stock offered to the stockholders and employees at par. The careful reader will notice some apparent inconsistencies in the figures. These are accounted for in part by the stock just named and the issuance of preferred stock. The figures were taken from the New York *Times* without any attempt at correction. The few possible errors do not spoil the moral.

There are some other interesting facts not included in the table concerning these oil companies. In the ten years from 1912 to 1922, the Standard Oil of Ohio paid out cash dividends aggregating $167.75 on each $25 share, an annual average of 67.1 per cent, a total of 671 per cent. In addition the Illinois Pipe Company, which it took over several years ago, has paid $58 on the Ohio Oil stock, making a total of $235.75, an average of $23.57, or nearly 100 per cent annually. In addition this company has accumulated a considerable surplus. In 1917 the directors proposed to water the stock by simply raising the par value to $100, but the Attorney General warned them that this was illegal and the matter was dropped.

The older half of the younger generation will also remember that Judge Landis, now autocrat of the baseball world, imposed a fine of $29,000,000 on the Standard Oil of Indiana in 1911, but that the Court of Appeals declared the fine excessive and reversed the decision. It was the $29,000,000 thus saved to the company which was used in 1912 in declaring the stock dividend listed above of 2,900 per cent. The 150-per-cent stock dividend in 1920 brought the capital up to $75,000,000. At the same time the stockholders were allowed to buy new stock at par up to 150 per cent of their holdings, bringing the total capital to $120,000,000. How the other $20,000,000 given in the table is to be accounted for I cannot say. Neither can I tell how much this company has paid in cash dividends.

Immediately upon the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust the Standard Oil of New Jersey paid a cash dividend of 20 per cent and has paid this regularly ever since; that is, in ten years it has paid out in cash dividends $200,000,000 on a capitalization of $100,000,000. In addition to this it now declares a stock dividend of 400 per cent. If the same rate of cash dividends is kept up for another ten years, it will have paid an additional $1,000,000,000 in cash on the original $100,000,000 and probably will be ready to cut another melon. But this is Sunday-school finance compared to that of the Standard Oil of Indiana where the stockholder now owns $74 of stock for every dollar originally put in, assuming that the original $1,000,000 represents cash, and draws dividends on it. And so the merry dance of dividends, cash, and stock goes on and the people pay the piper.

When, in 1920, I read to a young friend, an ex-service man, the news of the flood of stock dividends which followed the decision of the Supreme Court, he exclaimed, "My God, is that the kind of democracy for which we fought in France?" It is indeed a queer kind of democracy in which the people pay for a concern over and over again in excess prices, as they have done seventy-four times in the case of the Standard Oil of Indiana, and yet never own, but are always subject to taxation by that concern at any time through increase in prices. The old argument that the company needs the money for future development is perfectly sound. But why should it take the money out of the pockets of the people and then pay the dividends on this money to the favored few who own the stock? Why not pay the dividends on dividend stock into the public treasury?

Bartering for the Presidency

By ARTHUR WARNER

An unsavory incident out of the recent past of our late Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, in next week's issue of *The Nation.*

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In the Driftway

ON the day following election the Drifter went to his friend Mr. Donovan for words of wisdom. "What should I think about it " asked Mr. Donovan scornfully. "Sure, I like to see my own party get in—who wouldn't? But the real truth of the matter is what difference does it make anyway? It's like this: there's a gray dog with black stripes and there's a black dog with gray stripes and they turn and turn about with the most beautiful and lovely regularity. The one who's in grabs all the bones he can and the one who's out sits on the doorstep and hangs out his tongue and waits for the time he'll be grabbing, too. And that's all there is to it except the solemn little man who runs up and casts a vote for one of them thinking he's entirely different from the other."

* * * * *

"BUT how," said the Drifter with no slangy intent, "did they get that way?" Mr. Donovan spat magnificently, wiped his chin, put his pipe back into his mouth and spoke around it with enviable succinctness: "Variety," said he. Then he deigned to amplify: "There was once a great big black dog who did all the grabbing. Nothing stopped him but dying and immediately after his eldest boy took up the good work. After a while the noble-hearted little man who now does the voting decided that this was too monotonous entirely. So he fixed up the present system of turning about so it would look all different every once in so often. Not," jabbing the stem of his pipe under the Drifter's nose, "that he thought this was what he was doing. Oh, no! He thought he was inventing democracy and the vote of the people and all them lovely things. But what he wanted was a little change—and yet not too much to scare him. And that is how our far-famed and respectable Republican and Democratic parties, the latter of which lets me make a living in the easiest possible way, came into existence."

* * * * *

"THERE is the little socialist dog," ventured the Drifter. Mr. Donovan nodded heartily. "To be sure, and good luck to him. May his share of bones get bigger every time. He's in the game of turn-about, too, only it's never his turn. And if the day ever comes when he grows enough to throw out the other two he'll have my blessing. Meanwhile it's the finest game in the world, being paid for entirely by the audience and furnishing a safe haven for all the fine fellows who can't get a job out in the big world"—Mr. Donovan's wink was prodigious—"why don't you try it yourself sometime?" THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Bursting of the Dam

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The election has resulted in a violent defeat of the Republican Party. As in the overturn of 1920 the spirit of the election was negative—dissatisfaction with the party in power, not any particular enthusiasm for the Democratic Party. The moral is clear. The mood of the people is rebellious. The two present parties have lost their courage, and they have no real comprehension of the great underlying evil—which the voters do sense. That evil is economic, not political. It is, in a word, the intense concentration of wealth and of economic power over the lives of other men. As a Minnesotan coming to New York, I have noticed here a significant symptom, the contempt of the wealthy and the educated for the poor and uneducated. This lack of understanding breeds fear, and fear leads to hate.

The most hopeful sign in the political skies is the breaking through of a ray—not of violent radicalism, but of moderate though progressive and virile ideas. The common man was won in the Middle West. His candidates won in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Iowa—simple farming communities where gigantic cities and immense agglomerations of wealth have not yet produced such a complete policy of repression as to deprive the common man of all hope of checking the rise of plutocracy except through violence. Men have been placed in office who are sworn to inquire whither our civilization is tending, whose attitude is an attitude of inquiry, who realize that they confront a situation which calls not for Blackstonian smugness in the contemplation of our political institutions, but for Darwinian curiosity as to the laws of healthy political evolution.

It would seem that if it is inevitable for ownership of property to be lodged in a handful of men, it would be preferable to have it lodged in the hands of responsible government officials, as trustees pledged to the service of the people, rather than in the hands of a few commercial barons responsible to no one. But this concentration of wealth is not inevitable. The trend of the next years must be toward a decentralization of the control of industry—to spread the incentive of leadership in business among a greater group of men. A less effective organization of industry? For mere production, perhaps! But not for the production of human dignity and happiness.

All of which shows that there is reason for asking ourselves where we are going, and for ceasing merely to congratulate ourselves upon the magnificent rate of speed we have attained. It is because I believe that the victory of the Middle Western insurgents is a victory for the inquiring mind that I rejoice at the result of the election.

New York, November 10 A NEW YORK LAWYER

An Armenian on the Turks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am an American citizen of Armenian birth from Constantinople. I have read with much interest your editorials on Near Eastern questions. In your issue of October 25 on The Turkish Victory you say: "It is no longer the privilege of Christians to gather their skirts too closely around them in an holier-than-thou attitude toward the Turks, or to treat them as heathen on the supposition that a change of creed would necessarily civilize them." To this statement I most solemnly say amen. I wish to add that the actual reason for all of the misery, suffering, and accursed conditions that the subject peoples of Turkey have been obliged to endure is entirely due to the religious propagandist and professional theologian.

It is true that a Turk may feel ill toward a man who might persuade his daughter to renounce the Prophet and embrace Christianity. But his bitterness is no greater than would be the feelings of a Christian peasant toward an apostle of Islam who might persuade a daughter of the Christian to renounce Christianity, embrace Mohammedanism, and become a wife in a polygamous household. The great majority of the Turkish people are as fair and just in their dealings with their non-Mohammedan neighbors as they are with the members of their own religion.

If there is an inclination on the part of the good men and women of America to help the so-called heathen, there is nothing better they can do for these benighted people than to send them medical practitioners and vocational teachers who will confine themselves to their specialty and never mention religion. Roberts College and the American College for Women are loved by every group controlled by the Sultan. No reference is made to religion in either of these schools. They have done more to

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bring together the different nationalities and religious communicants of Turkey in a spirit of mutual respect and good-will than any other institution that was ever established in Turkey.

The religious propagandist and professional theologian have been the indirect cause of the torture, mutilation, and murder of hundreds of thousands of my fellow-nationalists. If you will exert your great power to keep them out of the Turkish Empire there are millions who will call you blessed. This is not written with any prejudice toward any religion, as I am an Armenian Christian.

Chicago, October 24 THEOPHILUS MOMJIAN

Choosing the Right School

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent issue of *The Nation* the Drifter, in his characteristic manner, emphasizes the importance of the student's asking before entering a school or university, "Is this the kind of university I want?" The difficulty seems to be, however, once the student has arrived at the point of asking the question, that the answers are so many and varied in regard to each institution that it is difficult to distinguish the truth. Those institutions, such as the Rand School, which the Lusk bill has aimed to suppress, have an inconceivably difficult task in getting before the public the truth about what they actually are doing. A Rand School advertisement sent recently to the Hunter College *Bulletin*, announcing a lecture by Norman Thomas on Social Forces After the War, was refused on the ground that it "was not in accord with the policy of the paper." In reply to a letter sent to ascertain whether the objection was to Mr. Thomas, to his former connection with *The Nation*, to the topic, or to the school, the president of Hunter College upheld the decision of the student editor, basing his objection on the courses and policies of the school.

And what are these courses to which he objects? We have had a course in Educational Problems organized by Dr. Henry R. Linville, in which twelve of the ablest educators in the country have participated. We are starting a course in Trade Union Problems and Policies in which fifteen of the most prominent labor leaders in the country will speak. We are soon to start a Sunday evening forum, conducted by Norman Thomas. Frank P. Walsh will speak first on Russia, then Paxton Hibben on The Near East, and such men as Dr. Harry F. Ward, John Haynes Holmes, A. J. Muste, and Heywood Broun will follow.

Is not this the kind of institution that many people do want? But how can we get these facts before the public? That is the question which confronts us?

New York, November 3 NELLIE SEEDS NEARING,
Associate Educational Director, Rand School

France in Her Own Mirror

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An interesting sidelight on France is given by a book, which we have to read in a French course, entitled "Histoire de France," by E. Lavisse. On the cover is this interesting inscription: "Tu dois aimer la France, parce que la nature l'a faite belle, *et parce que son histoire l'a faite grande.*" One more quotation will aid in showing the ideal set before the children of France in this book, which bears the date 1922: "Grandeur de Charlemagne.—Charlemagne a commandé à un grand nombre d'hommes. Il a été un guerrier et un législateur; il a fait de bonnes lois; il a voulu instruire son peuple. C'est pourquoi il est un des grands hommes de l'histoire." I cannot let this pass without honorable mention: "Par toutes ces clauses, la paix de Versailles est une paix de justice, puisqu'elle répare les injustices du passé."

Princeton, New Jersey, October 5 HORACE PULLIT

Books

An International Philosopher

Hugo Münsterberg, His Life and Work. By Margaret Münsterberg. D. Appleton and Company. $3.50.

THE American public will perhaps never again be as familiar with the name of a psychologist as it was with the name of Münsterberg. By natural capacities and temperament Münsterberg was fitted to achieve prominence in many lines of activity. He met the numerous occasions upon which he was confronted with the necessity of choosing between alternatives either of profession or of residence with an instinctive reluctance toward allowing any single interest or tendency of development to assume unchallenged predominance over the others.

Teacher by profession, yet bearer of a medical degree and constantly sought out by the mentally afflicted and unwell; scientific investigator, yet propagandist for the rapidly developing field of technological or applied psychology; philosopher and metaphysician, yet director of the best-equipped psychological laboratory in the world; German by birth and citizenship, yet American by quarter of a century of residence; student of the inner life, lover of the arts and humanities, even poet and musician, yet man of affairs, international publicist, and social philosopher: clearly Münsterberg compassed this prodigious range of activities by adopting synthesis rather than exclusion as the rule of his life.

How near the predilection for breadth and synthesis came to being the heart and fiber of Münsterberg is shown further by his philosophy. The dogmas of dominant German nineteenth-century idealism to which he brought eloquent and unqualified support were never allowed to lessen his allegiance to mechanistic science. He steadfastly and brilliantly upheld a somewhat paradoxical division of the field of psychology into a dichotomy of "purposive" and "causal" psychology. In his own words, "while the two psychological systems are equally true, they are not coordinated. One treats man as an object, the other as a subject. . . . It is not the structure of mental objects which is the cause of our purpose, but it is our purpose which transforms our purposive life into a causal structure."

So the soul was reintroduced on the stage of psychology; though not, as Münsterberg was at great pains to make clear, as an object of scientific analysis, not as an object to be described, explained, or related to any causal sequence; but rather as the inner life of attitude, meaning, purpose, and will, for which description and explanation are but constructs, and in the service of which objective psychology is only an instrument. The historian, economist, sociologist, humanist, and student of politics, tracing their subjects through the changing of civilizations, are to a large degree, and often unwittingly, the writers who have adopted the standpoint of teleological psychology—the psychology of intention, purpose, the soul.

In his insistence upon a clear understanding of fundamental philosophical principles, and by the eagerness with which he welcomed the opportunity for affirming and defending his own philosophy, Münsterberg more than any psychologist of his day was the fitting representative of his science in the renowned Harvard department of philosophy. It is interesting to speculate upon the extent to which his unwillingness to become preoccupied with psychology to the exclusion of philosophy was attributable to challenging association with his colleagues. And furthermore we may raise the question how largely it was the challenge of America which made of a philosopher the pioneer propagandist of applied psychology.

The versatility of Münsterberg's genius brought him a breadth of influence and authority, especially in America, which from the nature of things would not allow him to remain narrowly preoccupied with experimental research in psychology. It had been the unmistakable forecast of the *Beiträge* that their author

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was to enjoy an outstandingly brilliant career primarily as a laboratory scientist, and probably, following orthodox traditions, to become head of a unique and methodologically sectarian school of experimental psychology.

William James's suggestion that the Freiburg privatdocent come for a time to America changed all that. James expected Münsterberg the experimentalist as a colleague at Harvard would admirably supplement the courses in his own increasingly philosophical psychology. Within an amazingly short time Münsterberg acquired marked facility in both written and spoken English. More and more from then on he delegated to his students the amassing and immediate interpretation of experimental data, while he, through ever-widening channels of publication, became chief spokesman for psychology, and in the later years especially for applied psychology, before the entire educated public of America. What a pity that Münsterberg could not have seen the measure of fulfilment of his prophecies in more recent years! At the same time what irony that the most important practical achievement of the applied psychologists since Münsterberg's death is the use of intelligence tests in war against his fatherland!

The plan adopted by Miss Münsterberg in writing this book is admirable. The first two-thirds of the volume consists of biographical material interestingly selected and well presented. In the remaining third of the volume we have an important summary of Münsterberg's work. The author narrates the events of the last years of Münsterberg's life, clouded for him by the imminence of war between the two nations whom he had labored for years to bring closer together, with a forbearance and tact which deserves rich praise. It is doubtful if those who misinterpreted Münsterberg's position, and months in advance of America's declaration of war so cruelly ostracized and persecuted him, can ever be convinced of the injustice they did. War is most horrible as a sanctifier of inhumanity and self-righteousness. Münsterberg, who deplored the *Hasslied* and was aghast at the sinking of the Lusitania, sat during a doctor's examination at Harvard, twenty-two months before America entered into the war, at the side of the beloved colleague to whom he had years before dedicated "The Eternal Values," without receiving from him on this occasion a sign of recognition or greeting. Both men, by their formulas, were "absolute idealists." War, by its formula, makes enemies of those we have loved.

If Münsterberg's life could have gone on into the serenity of advanced years we should certainly have had his story in his own words. Since that was not to be—and one almost feels unnecessarily not to be—Münsterberg's friends and former associates and students will greet the present biography by his daughter with the same warmth which under other circumstances would have been reserved for an autobiography. Margaret Münsterberg's already attested skill as a writer, her familiarity with the problems of philosophy and psychology nurtured through close intellectual comradeship with her father, and, more than all, the inspiration of devoted dedication to her father's memory, have combined to produce Münsterberg's definitive biography.

RICHARD M. ELLIOTT

The Shaking World

Cross Currents in Europe Today. By Charles Beard. Marshall Jones Company. $2.50.

THIS admirable book, "the substance of eight lectures . . . delivered at Dartmouth College on the Guernsey Center Moore Foundation," should be read by every one who desires to know how the war came and what came out of it in the way of economic collapse, political reorganization, and reorientation in radical political and social thinking.

In the first three chapters Mr. Beard has given us, on the basis of the recent diplomatic revelations, a clear and succinct account of the complicated web of diplomatic negotiation and intrigue: of the alliances made, of the "understandings" that could be misunderstood, of the "conversations" that obligated statesmen under certain circumstances to make war but under no circumstances obligated them to inform their parliaments until it was too late to prevent it. Mr. Beard understands that there were other and deeper causes of the war; but he thinks it worth while to point out once more, (1) that "all the diplomats . . . were convinced that a general war was in the highest degree possible and devoted themselves to special alliances and agreements in preparation for the terrible eventuality"; and (2) that "neither the members of parliaments nor the mass of the people knew what was going on behind their backs." And he asks the inevitable question: "Had all the records been open what would have been the result?" Mr. Beard is too wise to answer that question. No one can. But this much seems certain: all the preparations for war from 1904 to 1914 were preparations for war and not for peace.

Chapters IV-IX are devoted partly to the economic and institutional effect of the war, and partly to the effects of the last eight years' experience on radical social thought. Mr. Beard's analysis of the new political constitutions indicates, (1) that the day of divine-right monarchy is over; (2) that Europe has rejected the American system of organizing the executive in favor of the English system, or some modification of it; (3) that the old liberal doctrine of *laissez-faire* has given place to the "concept that man, while enjoying a certain number of individual rights, 'must place them at the service of the collectivity'" (p. 146); (4) that, outside of Russia, the principle of making economic groups the unit of political representation has not been applied. In respect to radical thought, the chief results have been two: (1) Faith in doctrinaire social theories is on the wane, due to the collapse of internationalism in the war and to the admitted failure of communism in Russia; (2) the socialists, everywhere divided and uncertain, are introducing "a new note of reality into their speculations"—"the failures in Russia and Germany forced the socialists to accept the bourgeois challenge to produce evidences of practical power, and they have been recasting their literature" (p. 237). This does not mean of course that the main trend of thought is turning to old-fashioned liberalism, still less to die-hard conservatism. To the joyous cry that Karl Marx is dead, Mr. Beard unkindly replies that Cobden and Bright are also dead. It may not be wholly useless to add that the Duke of Wellington is dead.

The economic consequences of the war (and of the peace) Mr. Beard gives us straight; and it is a bitter dose. Many people have consoled themselves, and still do so, with the thought that while the war was destructive and disorganizing, these effects would cease with the cause. They are the people who are still looking for something called normalcy. But it seems that the economic disorganization caused by the war has been getting worse during the last four years. In some countries the debt has doubled since 1918; agricultural production is on the whole less now than four years ago; the profound industrial depression does not lift (are the tariffs not high enough perhaps?); financial systems are a chaos. Most alarming of all, perhaps, such signs of recovery as appear in the industrial world point to an accentuation of those conditions that formerly created the class struggle within, and bitter trade rivalry among, the nations: Stinnes governs and exploits Germany; Great Britain is rapidly grabbing the chief sources of the world's oil supply; the United States is peacefully penetrating every country in the world with its loans. Mr. Beard speaks of the "First World War," and invites us to consider how the survivors of the "Tenth World War" will look back on our relatively simple problems. He quotes Mr. Culbertson: "If no stay is given to the discriminatory and exclusive practices which now mark the policy of almost every important nation, we shall go forward into a period of trade war and conflict from which we shall look back even upon the

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conditions of this day as the happy state of a golden age from which we fell." The prospect is cheering!

And what is the remedy? Mr. Beard hasn't any. In these times that is a great merit. There are plenty of people with remedies—mostly born of their prejudices, their fears, their yearnings, or their hopes, including the hope of royalties. Mr. Beard is too intelligent to be taken in by ready-made formulas—radical, liberal, conservative; too sophisticated not to delight in dispelling illusions; yet too humanely sympathetic to fall back into the easy cynicism of one who is content merely to observe the tragic comedy of existence. He is an exasperated cynic and a warm-hearted friend of suffering humanity. He is a hard-headed idealist, the sworn foe at once of all that is stupid and selfish and disingenuous, and of all that is soft and comforting and merely well intentioned. He is as little tender of the people who are wrong-headed in the right direction as he is of the people who are right-headed in the wrong direction. Perfectly aware of human folly, he never quite loses faith in human nature. In short, he is a penetrating and informed critic of politics and government. That is what makes this book, and all of Mr. Beard's writings, so eminently stimulating and valuable.

CARL BECKER

The Color of Hergesheimer

The Bright Shawl. By Joseph Hergesheimer. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

IT is a necessary introductory commonplace that the imagination of Joseph Hergesheimer is to a remarkable extent pictorial. He can analyze character with deftness and discrimination, but it is not so much such analyses as it is his all-pervading picturesqueness which constitutes the most striking lineament of his individuality. Hardly less remarkable, however, is his aloofness from all "problems" in the current sense of the word. With the possible exception of "Cytherea," he has written no pamphlets for the times and no documents for the future historian of society, but what he has lost in social significance he has gained in art. No prophet or preacher could write with his aloof competence and if there is something of the Augustan in his sureness of touch it is because he acts as though the problems which engulf his contemporaries did not exist. At times he treats the America of today but by preference he moves to some distant land or time where no present problems can disturb his concern with his craftsmanship.

"The Bright Shawl" offers no surprises but it does present an intensification of the characteristics which have been previously noted in his books, and no other of his major works is so purely concerned with decoration. In "Java Head" and "The Three Black Pennys" he was poised between historical realism and decoration, and in "Linda Condon" much absorbed in a problem of character, but in this new novel there is nothing except picturesqueness. Many of his readers are going to be disappointed in its almost entire lack of intellectual content and it is certainly the slightest of his recent books, but it is none the less perfect of its kind. What his years of apprenticeship in the wilderness began, his period of public performance has finished and he has completely mastered his medium of expression so that whatever he has to say he is capable of saying completely. Any unfavorable criticism that might be made would have to be directed against his aims. In one novel after another he has sought chiefly to evoke the sense of some strange and picturesque way of life and the flavor has always been full and strong. If in this present novel more even than in the former ones a rococo element is observable, has he not himself remarked that he has admiration for that style?

It is observable in some of his most recent books that Mr. Hergesheimer is now enjoying himself hugely and luxuriating in the richness which he loves. When he was first emerging from his arduous apprenticeship he found himself cold upon this northern shore, and into the bleak landscape of "Java Head" and "The Three Black Pennys" he imported from afar the two bits of exotic color upon which his interest centered. Then when success freed him he moved his bodily self to a warmer clime and his spirit into a region of unlimited color so that in "San Cristobal de la Habana" and now again in "The Bright Shawl" he revels in the brilliant exoticism with which he had previously only touched his picture here and there with brilliant contrast. From such indulgence one might have predicted calamity, but no calamity has come. One might have argued that some relaxing of the firmness of his touch and the economy of his method would result, but while he has lost, of course, the effect of contrast there is no loosening of craftsmanship and he can afford to let himself go because his discipline has carried over. If a few years ago he had turned himself loose in a region so congenial to his imagination as the Havana of the last century he might have run riot and he might never have been an artist, might have preferred easy effects to strenuous craftsmanship, and like some intemperate painter intoxicated by color daubed his canvas heedlessly. Instead he is as scrupulous a workman as when he was wringing his effects from the most difficult material.

Yet of character-drawing or of psychology "The Bright Shawl" contains extremely little. It is remarkable to what an extent we are asked to take upon faith even the hero, a young American who goes to Cuba for his health but is seized by a youthful and romantic passion for Cuban liberty, and the gorgeous Spanish dancer with whom he becomes involved, but we do accept them because of the swiftness of events and the brilliance of the background against which they move. It is not with the soul of his hero that Mr. Hergesheimer is concerned. Nothing would be less likely to interest him than an abstract passion for political independence, but he is fascinated by the gestures to which it can give rise, especially if these gestures can be carried out by men and women versed in the elaborate ritual of aristocratic Spanish life.

It is the spectacle of these men of the world, of the flashing figures of the half-world with whom they consort, and of Havana itself, rotting physically and spiritually in the blaze of the tropic sun, that fires his imagination. The shawl itself wrapped the shoulders of a glittering dancer, a figure as elaborately decorative in her way as the Oriental of "Java Head," and it represents to the hero the splendor of the society in which he lived. "Such heat, and such golden roses, all had been his against that background of perilous endeavor. . . . Its flowers took root and grew, casting about splendor and perfume; the blue widened into the sky, the tenderness of the clasping sea; the dark greens were the shadows of the ceiba trees, the gloom of the jungles, the massed royal palms of the plains. And not only was it the setting, the country, its violent dissonances became cries, victorious or helpless, the sweep of reddened swords, the explosions of muskets. There was the blood that had welled into the Laurel Ditch of Cabanas; and, as well, the mysterious presence of Africa in the West." Surely this Andalusian shawl is a symbol of more than the memory of the hero. It is a symbol of Mr. Hergesheimer's artistic ideal. It has no justification outside itself, and though it is a blaze of color it is held into harmony by firm, almost mathematical design.

J. W. KRUTCH

The Gentle Alarmist

The Tocsin of Revolt and Other Essays. By Brander Matthews. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

ALTHOUGH Professor Matthews is alarmed he is not excited and his strongest opinions are expressed with good humor and urbanity. The title essay of his new volume is the weightiest; it is indeed the only one that can conceivably be discussed. It is not disagreeable to know that Professor

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Matthews would like to live in a house of genuinely American architecture and decorative character, that he thinks American literature a department of English literature, which is so obviously true in one sense and so profoundly debatable in another; one is also cheered in a mild way by his opinions on conversation and cookery and his conviction that great oaks from little acorns grow. We knew before, of course, that Professor Matthews liked Molière, nibbled at Mark Twain, and swallowed Roosevelt whole. But all these matters offer no occasion for comment. Where there are no ideas there can be no discussion and the gentleness of polite chit-chat is not calculated to excite the mind.

I come, then, to the causes and character of Professor Matthews's alarm. He is alarmed because in this period the breach between youth and age seems to him dangerously wide and deep, because "the battle between the individual and society as a whole" seems to him to be fought too unscrupulously by youth, because "the tocsin of revolt resounds in ethics as wantonly as in aesthetics," and summons the younger generation to "an exaltation of the lawless and illegal, the illicit and the illegitimate."

It is possible that these fears are not without foundation; it is certain that Professor Matthews is in no position to tell whether they are or not for the simple reason that he has not permitted himself to reflect on the matter. In his entire discussion he takes it for granted that the forms of society, of conduct, and of art are pretty rigidly fixed and that a revolt against them which aims for more than an easement of the existing rules of the game is headed for chaos. He is entirely innocent of the notions either of change or of creative revolt. This is perfectly clear from that one outburst in which he groups together, in the ardor of his indignation, "the lawless and the illegal, the illicit and the illegitimate." It is not for nothing that he studied law in his youth. The illegal does really strike him as lawless and all that is unauthorized by law as forbidden in a deeper sense. It never occurs to him that the legal has a way, in all human history, of becoming violently lawless and that an age will come in which the notion of, let us say, laws of war, will become as empty of meaning as the notion of a law for the burning of heretics.

If youth today from any genuine inner conviction fights the legal and the legitimate in the state and in society, the lesson of history is pretty clear to the effect that the state and society are using their power to enforce lawlessness in the name of legality and legitimacy under the pretense that it is the good. The burden of proof, at all events, rests upon those instrumentalities that have power and use force. That, in the entire and endless process, which is the process of the world itself, there is rashness on the one hand as there is blind stubbornness on the other, no one will dispute. I am tempted, however, to dispute Professor Matthews's contention regarding the lack of reverence which youth today shows to age. Manners change, to be sure, though not always perhaps for the worse. An ardent enthusiasm may be better than uncritical acceptance and the bated breath. There are great old men to whom youth looks up. There is Anatole France, who is with the youth of all peoples, and Gerhart Hauptmann, who leads the youth of his own. I have heard youngsters grow intense over George Moore and Bernard Shaw, both far in the seventh decades of their lives, and over Richard Strauss. And I have heard them debate as living issues the works and the thoughts of the great dead—Goethe and Shelley, Wagner and Nietzsche, Rodin and Swinburne. No, I am afraid that Professor Matthews views this matter from too fixed a point. He may take hope. Change is not chaos; the inner law of today will, alas, become legality and compulsion in its turn; new generations will sound the tocsin of revolt and other septuagenarians—as Professor Matthews is fond of calling himself—will protest. The cycle is endless. Professor Matthews may be of good cheer. There is no cause for alarm.

L. L.

Books on Music

Edward MacDowell: A Great American Tone-Poet. His Life and Music. By John F. Porte. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

The Romantic World of Music. By William Armstrong. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

ATTRACTIVELY presented in dark-blue cloth and gilt lettering, widely margined and sapiently spaced, Mr. Porte's "Edward MacDowell" does not seem to add a contribution of marked importance to existing MacDowell literature. With due appreciation of the composer's place and achievement, its seven-page consideration of MacDowell the Composer falls short, to us, of Lawrence Gilman's "Edward MacDowell" as a study, and of O. G. Sonneck's admirable essay in his "Suum Cuique." As to the thirteen-page biographical sketch and the five pages devoted to MacDowell the Man, the little biography of MacDowell by W. H. Humiston which appeared recently, and T. P. Currier's "Edward MacDowell as I Knew Him" (*Musical Quarterly*, January, 1915), both written by men who knew the composer personally, are far more illuminating. Nor does the account of the MacDowell Colony tell us much which was not already known.

The main portion of the volume is devoted to Analytical and Descriptive Notes on the composer's works. Here the "Indian" Suite for orchestra is the only one fully illustrated by note examples, "owing," as the preface states, "to the high cost of book production at the present time." It is these reviews of MacDowell's individual compositions—many of them showing that Mr. Porte reacts sensitively to MacDowell's delicate poetry—which should do much to popularize the volume. The great majority of earnest music lovers like to have the program of the music they discuss neatly outlined in words. Every song, every piano piece must have its descriptive label. And this sort of description has some value. The member of a women's musical club who, reading a paper on MacDowell, offers her listeners generalizations from Mr. Porte's book such as: "*Improvisation* exhibits the composer's finer poetry and mastery of his art," or "*O Lovely Rose* . . . is very short, but has a rare charm and fragrance" is aiding slightly to establish a correct general estimate. From a popular educational standpoint, therefore, Mr. Porte's book may be commended, and his descriptive notes may be accepted as guides to the understanding of many of MacDowell's obscurer and less-known pieces.

Mr. Armstrong's "The Romantic World of Music" appears in baby blue as if to point the contrast between its more frivolous aims and the serious purpose of the dark-blue MacDowell volume. It is a book of musical entertainment, of musical *personalia* and anecdote. As such it is eminently worth reading, and Mr. Armstrong's reminiscences of the great *prime donne*, master-singers, and Paderewski have the vivid quality of personal experience. The lives in their art of Patti, Nordica, Melba, and Schumann-Heink are told with a wealth of anecdote. We have a delightful account of life at Paderewski's chateau at Riond-Bosson, where Mr. Armstrong was a visitor at a time "when the pianist's Chopin playing renewed amorous longings in the gristly hearts of dowagers." The chapter given to Mary Garden touches interestingly on Max Nordau and on Massenet. "Massenet had so many loves that, had they died, to have provided flowers for the funerals of all would have bankrupted him." That devoted to Caruso and McCormack seems less vivid. Frieda Hempel, Amato, and Amelita Galli-Curci are drawn in bright pictures, and the chapter on Maria Jeritza, the guest of archduchesses and the last chamber singer appointed by an Austrian emperor (Karl V), is redolent of the artistic atmosphere of Vienna before the war.

Not the least engaging chapters of the book are those devoted to two groups of Prima Donna Romances. The first triptych being Jeanne Gordon, Rosa Ponselle, and Lucy Gates; the second Lucrezia Bori, Marguerite d'Alvarez, and Florence

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Easton. Mr. Armstrong's "The Romantic World of Music" is a book which the general as well as the musical reader can enjoy. Few tragic shadows darken its happy pages, all is sunshine, gladness, and laughter. The *prime donne* put their best, if not always their primmest, foot foremost. And, after all, romance should give us light, laughter, and happiness.

FREDERICK H. MARTENS

New Zealand in Literature

The Strange Attraction. By Jane Mander. Dodd, Mead and Company. $1.90.

The Cathedral. By Hugh Walpole. Doran. $2.

A NEW ZEALANDER living in the United States grows accustomed to be referred to as "the Australian." Because Australia is a bigger country than New Zealand, Americans seem to lump them together, apparently believing that a bridge connects the two and that one may stroll over from one to the other in the course of an afternoon. Yet a young American who has lived in both countries, Sydney Greenbie, writes of the curious differences between them and their people. The New Zealander, he says, is largely a duplication of the Englishman; the Australian is a sort of cross between the Englishman and the American.

Give your average reviewer a novel of New Zealand to "do" and you will inevitably find him writing: "Macaulay's New Zealander sitting upon the ruins of London bridge . . ." It is high time that Macaulay's New Zealander be allowed to rest. The reference throws up a misleading picture of a barbarian come from a remote land. New Zealand may be remote but it is far from being barbarous. It does not require to go to Macaulay's essay for literary affiliations. The "Waring" of Browning's poem was Alfred Domett, who lived in New Zealand for many years and who afterwards wrote "Ranolf and Amohia," the first poem owing its inspiration to the Maori race. Charles Armitage Brown, the close friend of Keats, spent the last years of his life in New Zealand. His grave was uncovered about the time of the recent Keats centenary. Samuel Butler lived and wrote in Canterbury province. Contemporary New Zealand writers include Hugh Walpole, who was born in Auckland, Reginald Berkeley, a contributor to *Punch* and a brilliant playwright, and Katherine Mansfield, who was associate editor of the *Athenaeum* with her husband, J. Middleton Murry, until that journal was merged into the *Nation*.

To this list the name of Jane Mander has recently been added. In "The Strange Attraction," as in the two novels which preceded it, I am unable to find any illuminating pictures of New Zealand. They are all concerned with the amorous flounderings of an emotional lady and these flounderings might just as well have taken place in South Africa or New York. There is no blending in of the background. It is like a photograph stuck in behind the pages. To me there is more of New Zealand in a sentence hurriedly written by a former colleague for a newspaper: "The thin hares raced between the tussocks," than in all of Miss Mander's novels.

The painful piling of irrelevant details is in strange contrast to the work of Katherine Mansfield, from which all extraneous matter has been so carefully removed. It is true that Hugh Walpole uses much detail in "The Cathedral." But all this detail is relevant. It builds, slowly and inevitably, the atmosphere desired. All the figures live in the shadow of the cathedral—Archdeacon Brandon the giant, his tall fair son Falk, his neglected daughter Joan, soft-voiced rotund intriguing Canon Ronder, the town gossips. The domination of the cathedral over human beings is expressed in the words of Davray the half-mad painter: "This place can bide its time. Just when you think you're its master it turns and stamps you out."

Because of Mr. Walpole's careful detail an impatient novelist of the Middle West tried to dismiss him as "an amiable mediocrity." The impatient one confused stupidity with sincerity.

As to the difference in style, the quotation of two typical sentences will suffice. Mr. Walpole writes: "The cuckoo cries across the glassy waters of blue harbors, and the gorse is honey-scented among the rocks." Jane Mander writes: "Valerie was not conventionally beautiful but she carried an internal dynamo that shot sparks at the passer-by and made him forget his manners, turn his head, and wonder who the deuce she was."

Miss Mander should study the work of her compatriots, Katherine Mansfield and Hugh Walpole.

REX HUNTER

Books in Brief

The Unlit Lamp. By Elisabeth Saxany Holding. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

A brilliant and substantial novel of character with the scene laid in the upper level of the Brooklyn society of yesterday and today.

A Market Bundle. By A. Neil Lyons. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.

A series of short humorous stories, sketches, and anecdotes dealing with low life in London. Apparently reprinted from some journal but having the distinction, unusual among such pieces, of being worth it.

The Ghost Girl. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright. $2.

An interesting story told under a barrage of sophisticated witticisms. The posthumous work of a clever man who never succeeded in being more than that.

Some Distinguished Americans. By Harvey O'Higgins. Harper and Brothers. $2.

A series of short stories each centering about a character more or less typical of American society. Well executed and carrying an air of actuality.

The Old House. By Cécile Tormay. Robert M. McBride and Company. $2.

Colorful picture of old Budapest made the background of a study of a burgher family dominated by one powerful personality.

The Mother of All Living. By Robert Keable. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

A novel of life among the English settlers in Africa. Interesting in its background but somewhat superheated in its portrayal of the amorous emotions.

The Nation's Poetry Prize

THE NATION offers an annual poetry prize of $100 for the best poem submitted by an American poet in a contest conducted by *The Nation* each year between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day. The rules for the contest in 1922 are as follows:

1. Each manuscript submitted in the contest must reach the office of *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, not earlier than Friday, December 1, and not later than Saturday, December 30, plainly marked on the outside of the envelope, "For *The Nation's* Poetry Prize."

2. Manuscripts must be typewritten and must have the name of the author in full on each page of the manuscript submitted.

3. As no manuscripts submitted in this contest will in any circumstances be returned to the author it is unnecessary to inclose return postage. An acknowledgment of the receipt of each manuscript, however, will be sent from this office.

4. No more than three poems from the same author will be admitted to the contest.

5. No restriction is placed upon the subject or form of poems submitted, which may be in any meter or in free verse. It will be impossible, however, to consider poems which are more than

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400 lines in length, or which are translations, or which are in any language other than English. Poems arranged in a definite sequence may, if the author so desires, be counted as a single poem.

6. The winning poem will be published in the Midwinter Literary Supplement of *The Nation*, to appear February 14, 1923.

7. Besides the winning poem, *The Nation* reserves the right to purchase at its usual rates any other poem submitted in the contest.

The judges of the contest are the editors of *The Nation*. Poems should in no case be sent to them personally.

Drama

Fantasies

DRAMA is returning to the technique of the chronicle and the methods of the allegory. The younger playwrights of Europe are in flight from life. They are proclaimers and prophets like Ernst Toller, builders of pessimistic apologues like the Capek brothers, exploiters of subtleties along the slanting edges of life like Luigi Pirandello. In seeking to describe them, especially Pirandello, I am reminded of a passage in Johnson's famous account of the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century: "Their thoughts are often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found." It is easy to apply the test. The wildest paradoxes of Shaw, the infinitely twilit subtleties of Schnitzler awaken an equal recognition and answer in the well-attuned mind. They are not obvious, but they are just. I have read half-a-dozen of the plays of Pirandello, including "Sei Personaggi in Cerca d' Autore," and in each there has been at work the same feeble and febrile fancy as of a more forlorn and less intense Maeterlinck who borrowed the outer garb of realism to hide from himself the futility of his own imaginings.

"Six Characters in Search of an Author" (Princess Theater) is the best of his plays. It is the most frankly cerebral; it is less a play than a commentary; it abandons the creative for the ratiocinative. Among the works of a powerful dramatist it would occupy the place that "La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes" does among those of Molière or "The Rats" among those of Hauptmann. It is, on the contrary, Pirandello's best performance. That fact defines the nature of his talent.

It is true that characters powerfully imagined and projected in literature have a changelessness and permanence that outlasts life. But it is curious and amazing rather than just and profound to illustrate that truth by letting six characters out of an unfinished play step on a stage during rehearsal and shame the mere theatric theater and the mere histrionic actor by the terrible reality of their passions and the eloquence of their discourse. For during the presentation of the piece these characters assume the nature of life; the stage and the actors are deliberately reduced to a more shadowy plane of stiff convention. The criticism thus constructed is no criticism at all. There are no players in the world that would not be confounded by the intrusion of men in the grip of some instant anguish of the living nerves or flesh. Art does not seek to compete with life on such terms. That is no reproach.

Mr. Brock Pemberton, whose uncommon artistic courage and insight is not diminished by such strictures on the play, has cast and directed it with the most delicate sensitiveness and the firmest skill. Mr. Moffat Johnston's performance is masterly. I have seen nowhere on the stage so excellent and complete a union of passion and thought or heard philosophic eloquence delivered with such spontaneity. Miss Margaret Wycherly created the strange mood of her part with her accustomed beauty and completeness of execution and Miss Florence Eldridge redeemed the quite brilliant promise she gave in "Ambush."

"The World We Live In," the "Insect Comedy" of Josef and Karel Capek (Jolson's Fifty-ninth Street Theater), strives to be a Swiftian fable. As the beasts mate and gather food and make war, so does man. He is as foolish as the butterfly, as grasping as the beetle, as cruelly wasteful as the ichneumon-fly, as supine and slavish as the ant. Thus the only wise man is he who, like the Vagrant that witnesses and interprets the crass allegory, desires neither to love nor to possess nor, therefore, to contend. The entomological parallels are close and striking, the imaginative working out of the fable is not without power, and the weak optimism of the crowd is likely to find the play tonic and astringent. The more reflective mind will probably feel the mood of the piece as one of depressed irritation and miss that *saeva indignatio* which soars even while it burrows and which is, in essence, not so much a hatred of the perverse and cruel as a disappointed passion for justice, mercy, truth. The Capeks deliberately omit the whole range of man's consciousness of himself and his ways that produces art and science and history. It is the consciousness which can say: We are no better than the beasts that perish, that raises us above them, or, rather, differentiates us from them. Without a sense of that differentiation the allegory breaks down. For to have written it is to have refuted its conclusions.

The play is almost devoid of dramatic life. It is a morality and a spectacle. The Vagrant moralizes and the beasts go through their allegorical gestures. It would have been simply dull without this particular production which unites the utmost splendor with the most disciplined skill and has more poetry, rhythm, beauty by far than the play itself.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Contributors to This Issue

MUFTY-ZADE K. ZIA BEY, son of a former Turkish Foreign Minister, is at present visiting the United States.

DAVID Y. THOMAS is head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Arkansas.

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Nov. 19.....**Frank Walsh**
"Russia"
Nov. 24.....**Scott Nearing**
"Labor Economics"

Nov. 18th—3:30 P. M.—**Jean Longuet** on "Jawres"

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The Children's Page

* * *

The next appearance of the Children's Page will be in the issue of December 6th, the Christmas book number. We are putting the December issue this close to the November one because it seems particularly appropriate that the Children's Page should be in the Christmas number.

The Children's Page

☼ ☼ ☼

Mr. Beetle Finds a House

One day who should come walking along but Old Mr. Elephant, rocking gaily from side to side, having just come from an extremely good breakfast of whatever-it-is-that-Elephants-have-for-breakfast. He switched his trunk round and round, sweeping the grass under his feet and touching lightly the little leaves over his head. Presently he became aware of a tiny voice in the neighborhood of his right ear.

"Good morning, Old Mr. Elephant," it said.

"Good morning," replied Old Mr. Elephant, politely and loudly. "I can't see you because you are evidently sitting on my ear, but I expect you are Mr. Beetle-with-the-shiny-blue-back."

"That's me," replied the little voice. "You haven't seen a house I could live in, have you? Rents are so high now that Mrs. Beetle-with-the-shiny-blue-back and I have had to move and we haven't found a place yet that will do."

"That's very simple," said Old Mr. Elephant, for he was fond of Mr. Beetle and really liked to have him sit on his ear. "I can make you a house in a jiffy." And he reached up his trunk and broke off five black and white birch trees. "Just spread these black and white birch trees out on the ground and mix a little nice wet mud with them and you'll have as fine a house as you can ask."

Mr. Beetle-with-the-shiny-blue-back laughed very long and just as loudly as he could. "Oh, Mr. Elephant," he gasped, when he could speak, "I think you've forgotten what I look like. A house of mud and black and white birch trees may be all right for some families, but it would never do for us. However, I've been looking around—the view up here is excellent—and I think that just back on the road a bit is a good location. Do you see—right down there on the ground near your left hind foot?"

Old Mr. Elephant looked and then he, too, laughed. "If that will do," he said, "you may have it and welcome. That is my left hind footprint and it seems like a very small house to me."

Mr. Beetle-with-the-shiny-blue-back walked down Old Mr. Elephant's ear, along his back, and down his left hind leg to the ground. There was a splendid round hole in the soft earth. It would never have done for Old Mr. Elephant, but for the Beetle family, with a couple of dry leaves for a roof, it made the nicest house in the forest.

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International Relations Section

Suppressing Japanese Schools in Hawaii

By G. HAMILTON COLKET

TO understand why the foreign-language-school problem has caused the "melting-pot" of Hawaii to boil over one must understand the background in Hawaii, how the Japanese came into the territory, and how the schools originated.

The two great industries of Hawaii are the sugar and the pineapple industries. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, sugar of the value of $144,571,514 and pineapple products of the value of $29,443,105 were exported from the territory, while the value of all the remaining exports amounted to only $6,649,395. Now the native Hawaiians are a pleasure-loving people with very few economic wants and, consequently, it was early realized that for the economic development of the islands foreign labor must be imported. In 1852 180 Chinese coolies were imported by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society as a first experiment in introducing foreign labor. In all about 21,000 Chinese were imported before the experiment was abandoned. With the exception of Africans almost every other race seems to have been tried at one time or another. In 1878 Portuguese were brought from the Azores and Madeira and, according to the United States Census of 1920, they now number 27,002 and rank second only to the Japanese.

In 1868 the first 48 Japanese laborers were brought to the islands. In 1884 one thousand more Japanese came, and in 1886 an immigration treaty was entered into between the Government of Hawaii and the Japanese Government. From that time until 1900, when the islands were taken over by the United States, about 70,000 Japanese came to Hawaii as indentured laborers under a three-year contract. In 1900 the status of the Japanese laborer changed from an indentured laborer to a free laborer, the former contracts becoming unenforceable under the laws of the United States. Immediately the Japanese began to flock from Hawaii to California, drawn there by the lure of higher wages, and Japanese in increasing numbers came to Hawaii intending to pass thence to California as soon as the necessary passage money could be earned. From 1901 to 1907 10,000 Japanese came to the territory. In 1907 the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was entered into between Japan and the United States; the emigration of Japanese was limited, either to Hawaii or to the continental United States. After 1907 the number of immigrants was very small and in the last few years more Japanese have returned to Japan than have come to the islands.

According to the United States Census of 1920, the population of the territory of Hawaii was 255,912; 109,274 were Japanese. The Governor's report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, estimates the total population as 284,538, of which 117,047 are Japanese—the largest single racial element in the territory.

At first the Japanese laborer was only a "bird of passage." He came to the islands to earn enough money to insure a comfortable old age in Japan; when this was earned he returned to his native land. But in the meantime his children were growing up with no knowledge of the customs, institutions, and language of the mother-land. Something had to be done, and from the need grew up the foreign-language schools, which have become the subject of so much controversy in Hawaii.

The first foreign-language school was established in 1896 by a Japanese Christian minister brought to the islands by the Hawaiian Mission Board, and the object of the school seems to have been as much to convert the Japanese children to Christianity as to teach the Japanese language. As it was feared that the religious feature would give the Buddhists a pretext for starting a school to propagate their own faith all religious teachings were discontinued and the school was made "independent." But the Buddhists began to start their own schools. The movement spread until, according to the Governor's report for 1921, there were in the territory 200 foreign-language schools, employing 500 teachers and having an attendance of 23,000 pupils.

As time went on the Japanese laborers became more and more attached to their new home and in increasing numbers became permanent residents of the territory. It became apparent that the former teachings, which had for their object the preparation of the pupils for a future life in Japan, were not suited to fit the pupils to become useful American citizens. Consequently certain changes were made in the textbooks and emphasis was laid on American ideals and American customs, but the old respect for Japan and the Emperor was also stressed as a duty and the pupil was not permitted to forget that under his dual allegiance he was bound to both Japan and the United States. It is interesting to note that this movement toward Americanization first developed at the instance of the Japanese themselves and was a natural outgrowth of the change in the nature of the Japanese settlement in the islands.

There seems to have been very little criticism of the foreign-language schools until after the end of the war, when the new nationalist consciousness, seeking suppression of all things of un-American origin, discovered in the foreign-language schools a menace to the peace and tranquillity of the islands.

Yet it was natural for the residents of Hawaii to want to Americanize the Japanese in the islands. Forty-one per cent of the population of the territory is already Japanese and, as their birth-rate is considerably higher than the average birth-rate (according to the Governor's report for 1922, 48.9 per thousand population as compared to the average birth of 40.14) the time is not far distant when over half of the population will be Japanese. There are now only 658 Japanese who are registered voters, but some estimate that by 1940 there will be 30,857 Hawaiian-born Japanese entitled to vote out of a total electorate of 65,764.

The difficulty of the problem has been increased by the fact that the Japanese do not intermarry with the other races of the islands and thus they are not being absorbed into the mass of the population. Also they seem to have preferred to import their wives from Japan rather than marry the Japanese girls born and educated in the islands, and the influence of these "picture brides" has tended to keep the home surroundings thoroughly Japanese. From 1911 to 1919 9,841 "picture brides" came to the territory.

The first attack on the foreign-language schools was made in the territorial legislature in the session of 1919, when a bill was introduced to abolish the schools, but was defeated. However, an act was passed authorizing the United States Commissioner of Education to make a survey on education in the territory of Hawaii. The survey was made under the direction of Dr. Frank F. Bunker, a specialist in city school administration attached to the Bureau of Education, with the assistance of other specialists, and a very interesting and complete report was submitted.

The committee consulted three organizations in the territory, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, and the Ad Club of Honolulu. The first, as was to be expected, recommended the abolition of the foreign-language schools, with the implied suggestion that one language was enough for any American. The Chamber of Commerce went no further than to recommend that the foreign-language schools be put under the inspection and supervision of public authority and that the supervision of their curricula "should be such as to prevent the direct or indirect teaching of standards, ethics, conduct, or morals not American." The Ad Club recommended the gradual elimination of the foreign-language schools and advised instruction in the foreign lan-

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guage in local demand in the upper grades of the public schools. It is greatly to be regretted that none of the Japanese, the people directly affected, nor any of the Japanese societies, were consulted. The committee's recommendations were a sort of straddle between the advice of the Ad Club and that of the D. A. R. It recommended that foreign-language instruction be abolished immediately except for children who could never become American citizens, and that classes in any foreign language desired, where there was a sufficient demand, be organized in the public schools and be conducted for one hour at the close of the public-school session, this instruction to begin with the first grade if desired.

When the territorial legislature met in special session in 1920 it directed its attention to the foreign-language schools and passed an act (Act 30, S. L. 1920) completely changing their status. The preamble provided that the term "foreign-language school" should be construed to mean any school which is conducted in any language other than English or Hawaiian. The act further provided that no person should conduct a foreign-language school in the territory of Hawaii unless he should first have obtained a permit from the Department of Public Instruction, thus bringing the foreign-language schools within the complete control of the Department, although every cent for their support and maintenance came from private sources. Other sections of the act required all teachers to pass an examination in English, provided that teachers should possess ideals of democracy and knowledge of American history, and gave to the Department of Public Instruction the power to prescribe the courses of study and the textbooks to be used. The most important provision of the act reads as follows: "No foreign-language school shall be conducted in the morning before the school hours of the public schools or during the hours while the public schools are in session. Nor shall any pupil attend a foreign-language school for more than one hour each day, nor exceeding six hours in any one week, nor exceeding thirty-eight weeks in any school year. Provided, however, that the Department may in its discretion, with the approval of the Governor, modify the terms hereof if it deems it can do so consistently with the declared object of this act."

Yet even this act did not go far enough to satisfy the Americanizers. Under the provision giving the Department of Public Instruction power to prescribe the textbooks used in the schools a committee was appointed to revise the textbooks. This committee was composed of the most learned Japanese residents of the territory, selected by the Japanese consul general at the request of the territorial authorities. After the committee had held several meetings it was proposed that some American residents of the territory should be invited to join it and help in the revision of the textbooks. Instead of aiding in this revision the American members of the committee suggested that the first two grades of the foreign-language schools should be abolished and that the Japanese kindergartens should be discontinued. The Japanese members were totally unprepared for such a suggestion and for a time objected to it. There had been no previous suggestion of abolishing the kindergartens. The Japanese argued that the kindergartens, which took care of the children up to the age of six, were really economic rather than educational institutions, day-nurseries where the wives of plantation laborers who worked in the fields with their husbands left their children while absent from home, and that abolition of the kindergartens, without provision of a substitute, would work a great hardship on these women. But it was hinted to the Japanese members that unless the kindergartens were abolished voluntarily the next legislature would abolish them by law. Before this hint the Japanese members gave way and joined with the American members of the committee in the suggested recommendations.

In accordance with the recommendations submitted by the committee the following regulations were prepared by the Department of Public Instruction and now only need the signature of the Governor to become law:

"1. That the course of study for the elementary foreign-language schools shall cover a period of six years.

"2. That the kindergarten and first and second grades of the foreign-language schools shall be discontinued according to the following plan: (a) No pupils shall be admitted to the kindergarten or the first grade during or after the school year beginning September, 1922; (b) no pupils shall be admitted to the kindergarten, the first, or second grades during or after the school year beginning September, 1923; (c) beginning September, 1924, only pupils who have completed the second grade of the public-school course may be admitted to the foreign-language schools.

"3. That foreign-language-school textbooks, beginning September, 1923, shall contain English equivalents for foreign words and idioms, and shall be based on the principle that the pupil's normal medium of expression is English."

The Japanese population of the islands had submitted quite willingly to the regulations of the Act of 1920, but when they learned that the kindergartens were to be abolished a storm of protest arose. The Japanese members of the committee were forced to resign and the matter was placed in the hands of an eminent Honolulu lawyer. It is probable that, if the Governor signs the regulations, the matter will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States for decision.

Bonds of Love

ON Tuesday, October 10, a treaty between Great Britain and Irak was signed at Bagdad by Sir Percy Cox, High Commissioner and Consul General of Great Britain, at Irak, and by his Highness Sir Saiyid Abd-ur-Rahman, G. B. E., Prime Minister of the Irak Government, and Naqib-al-Ashraf, Bagdad, who had been appointed as plenipotentiaries. On the occasion of the signature of the treaty Sir Percy Cox made the following announcement which, with the text of the treaty below, is taken from the *Manchester Guardian* for October 12, which, in commenting on the agreement, states that "in the Government's view the treaty affords a complete reply to the criticisms that Britain is exploiting Irak for the sake of its oil resources."

I have been authorized by his Britannic Majesty's Government to make the following announcement on the occasion of the signature of the treaty, of which the text is published today. His Britannic Majesty's Government, conscious of the deep obligations into which they entered toward Irak, are convinced that these obligations will be completely fulfilled by means of the treaty of alliance which has been signed on behalf of his Britannic Majesty and of his Majesty the King of Irak. They will do everything in their power to secure the speedy delimitation of the frontiers of Irak in order that Irak may be in a position, when the treaty and the subsidiary agreements therein provided for have been duly ratified and the organic law has been brought into effect, to apply for admission to membership of the League of Nations.

They confidently look forward to this application being made as soon as the frontiers are settled and a stable government set up in accordance with the organic law. Then they will use their good offices, provided that effect is being given to the provisions of the treaty, to secure the admission of Irak to membership of the League as provided for in Article 6 thereof, which affords, in their opinion, the sole means by which the mandatory relation can legally be terminated.

The Treaty

The treaty, which is between his Britannic Majesty, on the one part, and the King of Irak, on the other, sets forth that, whereas his Britannic Majesty has recognized Feisul Ibn Hussein as constitutional King of Irak, and whereas his Majesty the King of Irak considers that it is to the interests of Irak

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and will conduce to its rapid advancement that he should conclude a treaty with his Britannic Majesty on the basis of alliance, the plenipotentiaries have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. At the request of his Majesty the King of Irak, his Britannic Majesty undertakes, subject to the provisions of this treaty, to provide the state of Irak with such advice and assistance as may be required during the period of the present treaty without prejudice to her national sovereignty. His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Irak by a High Commissioner and Consul General, assisted by the necessary staff.

ART. 2. His Majesty the King of Irak undertakes that for the period of the present treaty no gazetted official of other than Irak nationality shall be appointed in Irak without the concurrence of his Britannic Majesty. A separate agreement shall regulate the numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Irak Government.

ART. 3. His Majesty the King of Irak agrees to frame an organic law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Irak and to give effect to the said law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present treaty, and shall take account of the rights, wishes, and interests of all populations inhabiting Irak. This organic law shall insure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Irak on the ground of race, religion, or language and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Irak may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal, financial, and military policy.

ART. 4. Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 17 and 18 of this treaty, his Majesty the King of Irak agrees to be guided by the advice of his Britannic Majesty, tendered through the High Commissioner, on all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of his Britannic Majesty for the whole period of this treaty. His Majesty the King of Irak will fully consult the High Commissioner on what is conducive to a sound financial and fiscal policy, and will insure the stability and good organization of the finances of the Irak Government so long as that Government is under financial obligations to the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

ART. 5. His Majesty the King of Irak shall have the right of representation in London and in such other capitals and places as may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties. Where his Majesty the King of Irak is not represented he agrees to intrust the protection of Irak nationals to his Britannic Majesty. His Majesty the King of Irak shall himself issue exequaturs to representatives of foreign Powers in Irak after his Britannic Majesty has agreed to their appointment.

ART. 6. His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices to secure the admission of Irak to membership of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

ART. 7. His Britannic Majesty undertakes to provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of his Majesty the King of Irak as may from time to time be agreed by the High Contracting Parties. A separate agreement regulating the extent and conditions of such support and assistance shall be concluded between the High Contracting Parties and communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ART. 8. No territory in Irak shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any foreign Power. This shall not prevent his Majesty the King of Irak from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfilment of the provisions of the preceding article.

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ART. 9. His Majesty the King of Irak undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as his Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters, and safeguard the interests of foreigners in consequence of the non-application of the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them under capitulation or usage. These provisions shall be embodied in a separate agreement which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ART. 10. The High Contracting Parties agree to conclude separate agreements to secure the execution of any treaties, agreements, or undertakings which his Britannic Majesty is under obligation to see carried out in respect of Irak. His Majesty the King of Irak undertakes to bring in any legislation necessary to insure the execution of these agreements. Such agreements shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ART. 11. There shall be no discrimination in Irak against the nationals of any state member of the League of Nations, or of any state to which his Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be insured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League (including companies incorporated under the laws of such state), as compared with British nationals or those of any foreign state in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Nor shall there be any discrimination in Irak against goods originating in or destined for any of the said states. There shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across Irak territory.

ART. 12. No measure shall be taken in Irak to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such an enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government.

ART. 13. His Majesty the King of Irak undertakes to cooperate in so far as social, religious, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ART. 14. His Majesty the King of Irak undertakes to secure the enactment within twelve months of the coming into force of this treaty, and to insure the execution of a law of antiquities based on the rules annexed to Article 421 of the treaty of peace signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920. This law shall replace the former Ottoman law of antiquities, and shall insure equality of treatment in the matter of archaeological research to the nationals of all states members of the League of Nations, and of any state to which his Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be insured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League.

ART. 15. A separate agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the High Contracting Parties. It shall provide, on the one hand, for the transfer by his Britannic Majesty's Government to the Government of Irak of such works of public utility as may be agreed upon, and for the rendering by his Britannic Majesty's Government of such financial assistance as may from time to time be considered necessary for Irak, and, on the other hand, for the progressive liquidation by the Government of Irak of all liabilities thus incurred. Such agreement shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ART. 16. So far as is consistent with his international obligations his Britannic Majesty undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of the association of the state of Irak for customs or other purposes with such neighboring Arab states as may desire it.

ART. 17. Any difference that may arise between the High Contracting Parties as to the interpretation of the provisions of this treaty shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In such case, should there be any dis-

Commandment I
"I Am Jehovah Thy God"

Exodus, xx:2.
אנכי יהוה אלהיך

or

Jehovah is the God Americanism the Religion

RELIGION

—not what it has been, nor what it might have been—what it should be it is not. With the exception of soul-saving and conscience-cleansing, religion will be whatever else one may expect it to be, only when mankind will continually be enlightened as to the truths of the Ten Commandments and the principles of Americanism.

JEHOVAH

Why Jehovah? Because Jehovah is the only God (or ideal) in whom no one need believe. There is not a word in the Commandments where Jehovah asked men to believe in Him. Not to believe means freedom of thought. For when one believes in someone, or something, one's mind, or intellect, is in bondage. Not to believe is the only guide against idolatry. Our so-called free thinkers are neither free nor thinkers. Instead of believing in the Bible and heavenly idols, they believe in other theories and earthly idols. In a word, Jehovah marks the culmination of civilization. Belief in and worship of divine or human idols marks the destruction of civilization.

There is nothing in Judaism, no matter how strongly it may appeal to me, that I would ask others to accept, except the Jew's conception of Jehovah, namely, "HE HATH NEITHER BODILY FORM NOR SUBSTANCE, WE CAN COMPARE NOUGHT UNTO HIM IN HIS HOLINESS."

AMERICANISM

The fact that Americanism is losing its significance and its original meaning is due mostly to religion. For, while Americanism stands for freedom of body and mind, religion persisting to inculcate belief in the impossible, from early childhood, keeps the mind of the people in bondage. How can a people claim to be free, when its mind is enslaved and is given to idol worship?

The only way, then, to preserve both Americanism and religion, is to combine the principles of the Commandments and of Americanism and make Americanism the Religion of Mankind. This can be brought to a realization when, for instance, "Mind your own business" will be applied to the first Commandment, meaning that one is just as free not to believe in God, as another is to believe, with the understanding that to disbelieve is one thing and to deny is quite another. To apply "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none" to the eighth Commandment, in that one who stole one million dollars should not be favored any more than the one who stole one dollar, etc., etc., etc.

Only such a religion will turn morons into a thinking people. Only such a religion and conception of God, as stated above, will insure complete freedom of body and mind. Only such a religion will prove, that although each one minding one's own business, yet intellectually united for the common decencies as prescribed in the Commandments and liberties as prescribed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Only such a religion will prove to be the solution of every problem, from disarmament to the length of the lady's dress.

MOSES STEINBERG
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crepancy between the English and Arabic texts of this treaty, the English shall be taken as the authoritative version.

ART. 18. This treaty shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified by the High Contracting Parties after its acceptance by the Constituent Assembly, and shall remain in force for twenty years, at the end of which period the situation shall be examined, and if the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that the treaty is no longer required it shall be terminated. Termination shall be subject to confirmation by the League of Nations, unless before that date Article 6 of this treaty has come into effect, in which case notice of termination shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. Nothing shall prevent the High Contracting Parties from reviewing from time to time the provisions of this treaty and those of the separate agreements arising out of Articles 7, 10, and 15, with a view to any revision which may seem desirable in the circumstances then existing, and any modification which may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. The ratifications shall be exchanged at Bagdad.

It may be added that the treaty is regarded in official quarters as the first important step for securing ultimate complete self-government for Irak. Article 6 is of particular importance in that his Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices to secure the admission of Irak to the League of Nations, and when that is accomplished the British mandate for Irak will automatically come to an end. In the Government's view the treaty affords a complete reply to the criticisms that Britain is exploiting Irak for the sake of its oil resources.

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